Dreaming the Great Brahmin: Tibetan Traditions of the Buddhist Poet-Saint Saraha

KURTIS R. SCHAEFFER

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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UNIVERSITY PRESS
2005

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Oxford New York
Auckland Bangkok Buenos Aires Cape Town Chennai
Dar es Salaam Delhi Hong Kong Istanbul Karachi Kolkata
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Mumbai Nairobi
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With offices in
Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece
Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore
South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Published by Oxford University Press, Inc.
198 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016

www.oup.com

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Schaeffer, Kurtis R.
Dreaming the Great Brahmin : Tibetan traditions of the Buddhist poet-saint Saraha /
Kurtis R. Schaeffer.
p. cm.
Accompanied by a full translation of the Doha Verses and a rare Tibetan commentary, the
first commentary on Saraha's work to be translated into any Western language.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13 978-0-19-517373-4
ISBN 0-19-517373-2
1. Sarahapåada, 8th cent. 2. Sarahapåada, 8th cent. Dohåakosa. 3. Spiritual life—
Buddhism. I. Sarahapåada, 8th cent. Dohåakosa. English. II. Title.
BQ984 .A66993S35 2004
294.3'092—dc22 2004009082

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed in the United States of America
on acid-free paper

Lighting-quick, in a single moment:
South to Śrī Parvata Mountain I dream-traveled.
In the sweet shade of fig trees,
On a seat, a tira's corpse,
Lord, Great Brahmin Saraha!
Face brilliant, unlike any seen before,
Two noble women with him,
Body bedecked with charnel ground fare,
Joyous face smiling—
"Son, welcome," said he.
Unable to bear the joy of seeing the Lord,
My body's hair rippled. Tears I wept.

—Tsangnyon Heruka (1452–1507),
from the story of Marpa

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Acknowledgments

I offer thanks to Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp, my mentor and friend in scholarly pursuits. I thank him for having instilled in me a curiosity for the "hitherto unknown." This book is dedicated to him.

I thank Ron Davidson for reading the manuscript carefully and offering many helpful suggestions. The following people helped me to bring this book to completion: Janet Gyatso, Charlie Hallisey, David Jackson, Martin Jaffee, Stephanie Jamison, Matthew Kapstein, Russell McCutcheon, Dan Martin, Klaus-Dieter Mathes, Richard Salomon, Jeffrey Schoening, Khenpo Shedrup, Gene Smith, Cyrus Stearns, Kasinath Thamot, and Michael Witzel. I would like to offer special thanks to Roger Jackson, who offered much insight and encouragement. His *Tantric Treasures: Three Collections of Mystical Verse from Buddhist India* (Oxford University Press, 2004) was published too late for me to take full advantage of his elegant translations of the *dohās*.

Without my family I would not have been able to finish this or any other project. To Heather Swindler, Ruby Marguerite Schaeffer, Maxwell Louden Schaeffer, Shirley Schaeffer, Philip Schaeffer, Richard Swindler, Patsy Swindler, and Laura Swindler I give my most heartfelt thanks.

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Contents

Abbreviations

AA: D2268: The *Do ha mdzod kyi snying po'i don gyi glu'i 'grel pa* of Advaya Avadhūti
AV: D2256: *Do ha mdzod kyi dka' 'grel* of Advayavajra
CPN: Cultural Palace of Nationalities, Beijing
D: Works in the Sde dge Bka' 'gyur or Bstan 'gyur cited according to the catalog number in Ui (1934)
J: *Do ha mdzod* of Saraha in the *Collected Works* of 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje
JIABS: Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies
L: *Do ha mdzod* of Saraha prepared by Lha btsun pa Rin chen rgyal mtshan
M: D2258: *Do ha mdzod kyi dka' 'grel* of Mokṣākaragupta
NGMPP: Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
P: Works in the Peking Bka' 'gyur and Bstan 'gyur
R: D2257: *Mi zad pa'i gter mdzod yongs su gang ba'i glu zhes bya ba gnyug ma'i de nyid rab tu ston pa'i rgya cher bshad pa* of Gnyis su med pa'i rdo rje

Note: All Tibetan proper names have been phoneticized in the body of the text, though kept in transliterated format in the notes. All transliterations for Tibetan proper names are found in the index within parentheses adjacent to their phoneticized versions.

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Introduction

Stories and Songs of the Great Brahmin Saraha

> The imagination nourishes man and causes him to act. It is a collective, social, and historical phenomenon. A history without the imagination is a mutilated, disembodied history.
>
> —Jacques Le Goff

A Tibetan writer once prefaced a volume of his poems with the following tale:

> When people lived to be one hundred years, Glorious Samantabhadra appeared as the enlightened body of Vajradhara and turned the wheel of religion—the Diamond Path of Arcane Speech. This very one also appeared to ordinary disciples as the enlightened body of Śākyamuni and turned the wheel of religion as philosophy. Then he came to rest in the quiescent realm. After this came innumerable emanations of the Buddha—gurus, spiritual friends, scholars, and the Eighty Adepts who had attained realization on the banks of the River Ganga in India. They sang innumerable diamond-songs for the sake of disciples. It was especially the great Saraha who sang these diamond-songs, the *dohās*. . . .[1]

Thus does the great Tibetan poet-saint of the nineteenth century Zhabkar Natsok Rangdrol (1781–1851) begin his own collection of over a thousand spiritual songs with a call to hear them in the context of a tradition reaching back to the beginning of time. The songs he sang and wrote are no mere amusement, he suggests, but an emulation of the voices of his spiritual masters. It is fitting that he begins the present work on Buddhist songs and stories by showing us the depth and breadth of the poetic lineage to which he considered him-

self heir. In the primordial past, when people lived to one hundred years, the teachings of the Buddha were given to disciples. The teachings were varied according to the spiritual status of the disciples, and likewise the teachers that followed the primal incarnation of the Buddha Vajradhara were of many kinds: from learned scholars to yogic adepts. All of these masters were needed, and all were present in these founding moments of Buddhist history. But for Zhabkar, who here prepares the reader to enter the world of his thousand diamond-songs, the preeminent saints of the past are the Eighty Adepts, those masters of yogic realization who gave voice to their experiences not in learned treatises of philosophy, but in songs. It is these songs performed on the banks of the River Ganga that Zhabkar evokes to place the reader in the right frame of mind for reading his own songs.[2] And among all of these adepts—eighty, eighty-four, and countless more—it is the Great Brahmin, Saraha, who reigns as the poet-saint supreme. It is the tale of this powerful figure in the religious imaginations of Tibetan writers, and the story of his most important work of spiritual philosophy—the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*—that I will tell in this book.

Studying Saraha

The study of Saraha has for the most part consisted of an attempt to fix his dates and decide upon which of the narrative traditions contain the correct details of his biography, all based upon a scant number of Tibetan hagiographies dating hundreds of years beyond even the latest dates assigned to him. Such a project has been rightly deemed impossible,[3] and yet scholars have nevertheless in the last decade proceeded to grant sole creative license and ingenuity to an otherwise unknowable historical figure named Saraha, totally ignoring the creative potential of the Tibetan commentators upon which their research is based.[4] One recent writer sums up this notion, averring that if the Saraha of Tibetan stories did not write the *Dohākoṣa*, then some other individual to whom we can only give the name "Saraha" did write it.[5]

This book focuses upon the traditions that made Saraha. The figure to whom the name "Saraha" is given is a construct of the religious imagination, and a vibrant one at that. I am concerned not with discovering the true identity of the author of the *Dohākoṣa*—or *Treasury of Dohā Verses,* as I will generally refer to it—but with studying Tibetan, Nepalese, and Indian hagiographic narratives of Saraha's life as constituting interesting literary traditions in their own right. These are rich works that can tell us about the people, Tibetans mostly, who created and engaged them; trying to search for the person behind the name misses what is most interesting about his name. Even his name, Saraha—"the arrow shooter"—is bound up in hagiographic narratives, as we shall see.

The present study also looks at the literary history of the *Dohākoṣa* as it was transmitted from the Indic world to the Tibetan cultural world. It attempts to do this principally from the perspective of Tibetan literary remains. Previous attempts at editing and explicating the *Treasury of Dohā Verses,* as well as at-

tempts at identifying Saraha, have been aimed at eliminating perceived errors and inconsistencies wrought by tradition, and at uncovering the original form of the work, as well as the "historical" Saraha. These attempts have been misguided by a methodological imperative which makes a strict division between, on the one hand, the author as the sole creative force and owner of the original, and therefore authentic and correct, literary work, and on the other hand, the subsequent tradition of scribes, orators, teachers, and interpreters whose activities amount only to a degeneration of the original purity of the author's intended work.

Yet Saraha the saint does not thrive in such a narrowly defined historical narrative. He "lives" in tradition, in the dreams, poetry, and art of Tibetan disciples. Thus the goal of the present book is not to settle questions about the form of the work's *ur-text*, or about the biographical details or intentions of its purported author, but rather to shift scholarly attention to the literary life and history of the work as it was taught, transmitted and transformed by members of Buddhist traditions in India, Nepal, and Tibet, as well as to the development of the saintly figure of Saraha in Tibetan and Indic narrative traditions. If one looks closely, one sees not one work, one author, but a variegated corpus of shifting works called the *Treasury of Dohā Verses,* and a hagiographic embodiment of exemplary Buddhist living and spiritual growth, both of which were used and adapted by participants of the tradition. The variety of textual remains of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses,* as well as the richness of the Indian and Tibetan traditions involved with it, makes the "search for origins" that characterizes any previous scholarship on the work a problematic endeavor in historiographic terms.[6] It misses most of what is truly fascinating about Saraha: the immense creativity that his image inspired in a number of religious and cultural arenas.

The central argument presented here is thus that the study of Saraha's tales should focus on the creative traditions that gave life to him in the Tibetan religious imagination, and that the literary study of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* should explicitly focus on the vicissitudes of the work's textual corpus and the figure of Saraha utilizing equal parts of historical, philological, and interpretive means. Through this focus, the "lives" of the *Dohā Verses* as they were continually reincarnated through members of Buddhist traditions can be described in a manner that at once elucidates both the specific elements of the work itself and the process of the transmission of religious literature in general.

Dohā Literature

From as early as the seventh century CE, later North Indian Buddhism saw the emergence of a poetic form of religious expression, songs in the late Middle Indo-Aryan dialect of Apabhraṃśa, of various lengths and consisting primarily of rhymed couplets, extolling the beauty and simplicity of tantric spiritual experience and social practice. In time this genre came to be designated *dohā,* the name of the meter most frequently employed. From the seventh to the

twelfth century these songs were performed, commented upon, and transmitted both orally and through manuscripts. As a genre, these expressions of Buddhist persuasion share affinities with Jain Apabhraṃśa works and Medieval Hindi songs of devotion. Though several have come down to us in Apabhraṃśa, including works attributed to Tilopa, Kṛṣṇācārya, and Saraha, thanks to the efforts of Tibetan, Nepalese, and Indian scholars of the eleventh through the thirteenth century, the largest collection of these Buddhist songs is to be found in Tibetan translation.

Saraha's *Treasury of Dohā Verses* is thus but one of a handful of such late Indian Buddhist poetic works, though in many ways it was the most significant in terms of its impact on later Buddhist literature and thought. Saraha is heralded by a number of Tibetan Buddhist traditions as the paramount Indian "spiritual adept" or *siddha*, and he stands at the heart of a rich hagiographic corpus of writings in which the stories told of him are as varied as the works attributed to him. The origins of the work and the historical place of its author have been the focus of scholarly study, debate, and not a little uncertainty since 1907, at the time of the first discovery of a Nepalese manuscript containing the poem itself and a Sanskrit commentary of it written by the eleventh-century Indian scholar Advayavajra. Since then several manuscripts of the work have been discovered in Nepal and Tibet and edited, but research into the religious traditions that gave life to the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* and its commentaries was sporadic for the remainder of the twentieth century, and to date no full-length study has been devoted to the rich body of Apabhraṃśa, Sanskrit, and Tibetan literature which constitutes our record of the work's life and times.

Dohās may be described as rhapsodies, or emotionally charged verse expressions of spiritual experience whose formation is often piecemeal, owing more to the tides of tradition than any single author. A number of works attributed to Saraha are either called *Dohākoṣa* or have "*dohākoṣa*" as part of the title. In the Tibetan tradition, the longest of these became known as the *Dohākoṣa,* and it is to this work in its several versions that we will generally refer throughout. Saraha's *Treasury of Dohā Verses* is a gripping, often iconoclastic poetic song. The *Treasury of Dohā Verses* begins with a sarcastic critique of social, ritual, scholastic, and meditation practices considered by Saraha to be absurd and useless or detrimental to spiritual growth. The leitmotifs of the work are the immediacy of the ultimate spiritual experience in human bodily existence, the impossibility of adequately expressing this experience, and the necessity to engage in the proper meditative practice with an altruistic attitude under the guidance of one's spiritual mentor in order to bring such an ecstatic experience to life in oneself. Yet Saraha's work is intriguing not only by virtue of its often beautiful expression of a Buddhist vision of the relation between human existence and ultimate reality, but also because it has come down to us in a state of fantastic variegation and has meant many things in many forms to those who have been involved with it. From version to version, lines are reordered, omitted, or expanded; vocabulary is changed, forming a constellation of variant works with a shifting core. As with the hagiographic narratives

of Saraha's life, this book is concerned with the traditions that brought his work to life.

The Plan of the Book

The book is divided into three parts: the first two survey respectively the tales and songs of the Great Brahmin, while the third presents a translation of Saraha's most important work together with a rare Tibetan commentary. As I have already suggested, Saraha is by no means a monolithic figure in Tibetan hagiographic literature. While the stories of his life as told by such famous Tibetan authors such as Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa (1504–1566), or less well-known writers such as Karma Trinlaypa (1456–1539) or Drakpa Dorje Palzangpo (b. 1444), can all generally be seen as part of the same narrative tradition, the details often differ: Saraha is spiritual adept first and foremost in one version, monastic abbot in another. Moreover, these differences often have polemical or sectarian force, as when Drakpa Dorje Palzangpo inverts the sequence of two events in Saraha's life in order to fit him cleanly into his school's ordination lineage. In the *Life Stories of the Eighty-Four Adepts* corpus Saraha plays many roles: a conveyer of doctrine, a lineage holder and authorizer of tradition, an exemplar for living, an object of reverence, and a source of blessings. Thus part I presents a portrait of Saraha that attempts to convey the richness and complexity of his figure in Tibetan religious writing. It shows how he is portrayed in the well-known *Eighty-Four Adepts* narrative literature as well as in less-known ritual, meditational, and polemical literature in which this portrait is employed.

Chapter 1 presents the two main narrative traditions of Saraha's tale of enlightenment. The first I have termed the radish girl tale, for Saraha's realization occurs with the help of a servant girl over an argument about radish stew. The second tradition of narrative I have similarly named for the female figure without which Saraha would not have achieved realization: the female arrowsmith, or fletcheress. The next two tales of Saraha are radically different from these two. The first one is claimed by Pema Karpo to be an oral tradition from the heartland of the Buddha's enlightenment itself, Vajrāsana, or modern-day Bodhgaya. The second forms the beginning of the Seven Teaching Currents of tantric instructions as formulated by Tāranātha on the basis of teachings given him by the Indian Buddhist master Buddhaguptanātha. The chapter closes with a brief look at the relation between the hagiographic tales of Saraha and the dohā verses for which he was so famous.

Chapter 2 discusses the Great Brahmin in the context of rituals, visual arts, praise literature, and dream journeys. The central concern of the chapter is to show that Saraha was not merely a master of the past for Tibetan writers, but a powerful spiritual figure accessible in the continual present. Not lost to the past, he was in fact capable of being met by his Tibetan disciples. The importance of Saraha and the other Eighty-Four Adepts has up to now not been

considered in the context of liturgical writings and rituals, but it is in a ritual context that aspirants could imagine the presence of this enlightened master most closely. As will be seen, art, hagiography, spiritual poetry, and hymns of praise all coalesce in the liturgical writings devoted to Saraha. Of particular importance here are the liturgical manuals on the Eighty-Four Adepts compiled by Jamgon Kongtrul in the nineteenth century.

Chapter 3 continues the discussion of the previous chapters by looking to the controversies in which these different visions of Saraha became involved. Simply put, as an icon of spiritual realization Saraha became an important figure in the religious polemic debates of Tibet. This chapter will look at two examples of this phenomenon.

Beginning part II, chapter 4 turns to the history and development of the work for which Saraha is remembered best in Tibet: the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. The central concern in these chapters is the reception of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* in Tibet and the transformations of the work itself as it was integrated into the burgeoning Tibetan Buddhist literary culture from the eleventh through the thirteenth century. The primary source for a Tibetan history of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* and related works is undoubtedly the introductory section of Karma Trinlaypa's *Commentary on the Dohā Trilogy*. This important work details the transmission of the *Dohākoṣa* from Saraha to his students, and thence from India to Nepal and on to Tibet.[7] Karma Trinlaypa's history can be corroborated by a comparison of his reports to the extant textual record of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, as well as by a cross-referencing of the details with such well-known Tibetan historical works as the *Red Annals*, the *Blue Annals*, the *Religious History from Lhorong*, the *Festival of Scholars*, and numerous other works of a philosophical or narrative nature that can nevertheless be counted as historiographic sources. These include works such as Pema Karpo's *Great Seal Treasury* and the numerous biographies of early Tibetan figures such as Lama Zhang and Dusum Khyenpa, who are known to have received the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* from Indian masters. With the aid of these and other sources we can identify no less than seventeen separate occasions on which the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* was transmitted from India or Nepal to Tibet. More broadly, in the process of detailing this transmission history, the chapter provides a glimpse into the rich exchange of Buddhist ideas, texts, and practices that occurred in the encounters between Indians, Nepalese, and Tibetans between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. It is here that the literary history of Buddhism in Tibet intertwines with the very personal histories of those scholars who traveled the Himalayas in search of religion.

In chapters 5 and 6 these and other works are consulted not only for what they reveal about the history of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, but also for what they reveal about themselves, about the formation of Tibetan historiography and the concerns that have driven Tibetan indigenous research into the history of the *Treasury*. Chapter 5 elaborates upon the historical outlines of chapter 4 by focusing on a particular problem that resulted from the numerous occasions in which the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* was brought to Tibet: the authenticity of the received versions of Saraha's works. The chapter provides a brief summary

of the early Tibetan commentarial tradition devoted to the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, and it goes on to explore the controversies that surround the major works of philosophical verse attributed to Saraha. The crux of Tibetan controversy over Saraha's works concerns whether Saraha authored one work called the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* or a trilogy of related dohā songs, one of which is our *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. According to some Tibetans, the other two songs were forged by the Nepalese Balpo Asu, who is said to have received the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* from the Indian master Vajrapāṇi. But if he is accused of forging works, isn't his ability to transmit faithfully the authentic *Treasury of Dohā Verses* also called into question? Karma Trinlaypa, to name but one, is confident about the authenticity of all three works, while others argue for the authenticity of only the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* itself. What emerges from this glimpse at the controversy over Saraha is a broader sense of the struggle over authenticity and religious authority occurring throughout the Tibetan Buddhist tradition as different schools sought to defend their own links to the heartland of Buddhism: India.

Chapter 6 moves from historical to literary concerns to look at the creation of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. As in earlier chapters, my engagement here is not so much with the actual formation of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* in India—although I think the present work speaks well to this—but with Tibetan perceptions of the formation of dohā literature. The primary focus of this chapter is the integral relationship found among writing, singing, composition, and transmission in the case of the dohās. Tibetan historians and theorists have much to say about the creative process that gave rise to the spiritual songs of the Buddhist adepts, and it is their commentary, their mythology, their imaginative theoretical discussion of the relation between orality and literacy that I am interested in exploring here. After an introductory orientation to the dohās, the second section of the chapter looks at the early commentators' views on the transmission of dohā songs.

As in chapter 3, the liturgical compendia of Jamgon Kongtrul constitute an important source for the discussion, for he has much to say on the compilation of the songs of the Eighty-Four Adepts. Finally, we will look at a related group of anthologies of tantric songs propagated by the Indian master Phadampa Sangye, who spent the latter part of his life in Tibet. A detailed look at these anthologies, many of which include verses attributed to Saraha, will enable us to see in more detail how Tibetans—and perhaps an Indian master teaching in twelfth-century Tibet—viewed the creation and preservation of the dohās.

Chapter 7 continues the work begun in chapter 6 by looking at two cases in which the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* was drastically transformed in the process of commentary and transmission. First it details the changes wrought in the work by the author/compiler of the *Extensive Commentary* on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* attributed to the well-known late Indian tantric commentator Advayavajra. Secondly, it looks at one of the earliest indigenous Tibetan commentaries on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, whose author, Ling Repa, consciously and drastically rearranges verses to better teach his audience of disciples.

It will be apparent that parts I and II of the book contain fairly lengthy passages of Tibetan works in translation; indeed I have endeavored to create a sort of anthology of tales dedicated to the Great Brahmin as much as a cultural and literary history of these writings. For while a few of the works presented here have been studied previously, the far greater part of the literature promoting Saraha has yet to receive proper attention in current scholarly writing. I hope that the anthology-like nature of the ensuing chapters will thus provide an engaging glimpse of the variety of Tibetan writings dedicated to the Great Brahmin, and will also be taken as a call for more integrative and theoretically oriented research into Saraha and similar saintly figures.

Finally, part III presents the first translation of a fascinating thirteenth-century commentary on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* entitled the *Ornamental Flower for the Dohās*. Although Saraha's work and its commentaries have been known to contemporary scholarship for almost a century, this is the first commentary on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* to be translated into any Western language. The author of the *Ornamental Flower for the Dohās*, Chomden Raldri (1227–1305), is one of the most interesting, if least well-known writers of thirteenth-century Tibet. His work constitutes an important and hitherto unknown commentary on Saraha's *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. Valuable for its concise exegesis as well as its relatively early date, the work possesses a freshness of style that reflects Chomden Raldri's creative use of the many genres of Indic Buddhist literature to which he found himself heir. To date just a single section of one of his several works on logic and epistemology has been translated.[8] Now, with the recovery of many of his works, the *oeuvre* of this important scholar from Narthang Monastery can be more fully appreciated.[9] Into this commentary I have inserted a new full translation of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* itself. I have chosen to translate the standard Tibetan translation of Saraha's verses, for this is essentially the version upon which the *Ornamental Flower* was based. I say essentially, for in actuality the situation is more complex than this. Where these versions differ—and they do differ in significant and historically interesting ways—I have made note of the differences.

Although the present inquiries into the role of Saraha, the Great Brahmin, in the Tibetan religious and historical imagination may not have been what Zhabkar Natsok Rangdrol had in mind when he dubbed Saraha the primordial spiritual poet, I do hope that they convey the vital role that Tibetans played in creating and recreating the Indian Buddhist heritage to which they themselves looked for authority. Their past was their own and was always very much connected to present concerns. Saraha may have been there at the primordial beginning, or he may have lived in ninth-century Bengal, yet he was always very much alive and changing in the works of the writers, artists, philosophers, and poets who were involved in dreaming the Great Brahmin into existence.

PART I

Traditions of Saraha in Tibet

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I

Tales of the Great Brahmin

As is so often the case with major figures in the intellectual history of India, almost nothing factual is known about Saraha.

—Herbert Guenther

Saraha has been definitively dated by modern scholarship to somewhere between the third century BCE and the twelfth century CE, and located in East, North, or South India (though curiously never West). There are a variety of homelands attributed to Saraha by Tibetan historians and hagiographers: Beta or Vidharbha;[1] Varanasi;[2] Rolipa, said to be a district in eastern India;[3] or Rāḍa.[4] And though the general consensus is that this author of such works as the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* was a Bengali living in the final centuries of the first millennium, the sheer variety of times and places linked with the name Saraha is important, for it reveals the variation inherent to the Tibetan hagiographic literature that scholars have used to create histories of this Buddhist master, as well as the presuppositions of those who have attempted to separate fact from fantasy in order to arrive at a historical figure.

The presence of a thriving hagiographic tradition dedicated to Saraha in Tibet is intriguing, given the lack of such Buddhist materials in Indic languages.[5] This is certainly not to say that there was no hagiographic tradition in medieval India, but merely to say that our record of Buddhist biographies is slim to the extreme. The Jains, by contrast, were prolific biographers.[6] Though the *Lives of the Eighty-Four Spiritual Adepts* claims to have been created by an Indian master, one Abhayadatta, the formatting of many of the works in this corpus clearly shows that they were at least written down, if not created, in Tibet. This does not, however, preclude the possibility that

these narratives were first handed down orally, or that we merely have no textual record of this and related works prior to their reworking in Tibet. It may be that the *Lives of the Eighty-Four Adepts* is a truly Indo-Tibetan work, an intercultural creative effort.

One Buddhist lineage list that includes the name Saraha is extant in Sanskrit, thus providing evidence of at least the seeds of a Buddhist hagiographic tradition in India.[7] The presence of Saraha and his works in the earliest Tibetan biographies such as that of Vairocanavajra also suggests that his name was alive in India and Nepal during the period of the New Tibetan Translations, beginning in the eleventh century. On the basis of these Tibetan clues, and additionally, the presence of similar traditions of biography among the Jains and Nātha Siddhas, we can extrapolate conservatively that tales of Saraha's life did exist in Indic literature.

Previous study on the historicity of Saraha has not considered sufficiently the nature of literature from which it has drawn, for this literature is overwhelmingly hagiographic in orientation, and neither biographical in the modern sense nor historically motivated. As a recent writer has argued: "It is . . . impossible to consider hagiography solely in terms of its 'authenticity' or 'historical value': this would be equivalent to submitting a literary genre to the laws of another genre—historiography—and to dismantling a proper type of discourse only in order to engage its contrary."[8] The study of the tales of Indian Buddhist tantric saints has suffered from the desire to make history out of hagiography, to reduce to fact the imaginative endeavors of hagiographers, of readers of hagiography, of those people intimately involved with the imagined lives of the Eighty-Four Adepts. In a recent discussion of Saraha, one writer suggests that the literature in which we find him be viewed as an integration of history, hagiography, and myth, but nevertheless maintains that the historical Saraha lurks beneath the literary surface: "[I]f . . . Saraha did not write the *Dohās*, the cycle of tantric songs attributed to him, then they were written by someone else to whom we can only give the name 'Saraha.' Whether or not Abhayadatta's account of him is true in all its details, somebody in the history of Buddhism likely answered to the name "Saraha."[9] In spite of a more developed notion of the hagiographic genre, this recapitulation to a concern for origins ultimately grants sole creative license to an otherwise unknowable figure Saraha, thus ignoring the great variation evident in the many witnesses of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* itself, variation due to the creative appropriations of the traditions that used the poem. Herbert Guenther has provocatively remarked, "as is so often the case with major figures in the intellectual history of India, almost nothing factual is known about Saraha."[10] But even this admittal presumes that there are "facts" to be known about the person of Saraha, if only we could read the sources correctly, or had access to more sources.

Yet the story of Saraha does not end with the fall of historicity. There is a great deal to learn about Saraha as a figure very much alive in the Tibetan religious imagination for a millennium or more after his presumed florescence. Given the great variation in the details of Saraha's life, I find myself in agreement with the Tibetan historian Tāranātha, who wrote, "Tracing the line-

age from Vajradhara to Saraha to Nāgārjuna and others is simply following an enumeration of names and there is nothing definite to be grasped in this."[11] Drawing inspiration from Tāranātha, in this and the following chapter I introduce Tibetan narratives of the life of Saraha. Here I seek not to extract any kernel of historicity out of the Tibetan accounts, but rather to investigate who and what the figure Saraha was for Tibetan Buddhist scholars, and, when possible, to establish a rough genealogy of Saraha hagiographies in Tibet. I will not tell the history of Saraha's life, but rather present the development of Saraha's lives as they have been told and retold in the Indian, Nepalese, and primarily Tibetan hagiographic traditions from the twelfth to the nineteenth century.

In Tibetan literature we can see the figure of Saraha playing four interrelated roles: an inspirational exemplar for spiritual practice broadly conceived; an object of reverence and a source of blessings; a lineage holder and authorizer of tradition; and an eternal living symbol of absolute reality who is capable of being personally encountered by all members of the tradition. This typology represents four different moments of Saraha's main narrative in the famous hagiographic anthology, the *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts*, as well as a stratification of different types of works in the corpus as a whole of related literature on Saraha. Chapters 1 and 2 will thus look at the first of these four roles and will focus primarily on the large body of hagiographic literature devoted to the life—or better, lives—of the Great Brahmin. The following chapters will explore Saraha in terms of the latter three themes by looking at liturgical, iconographic, devotional, and Tibetan biographical literature.[12] To be sure, in practice these roles may not be so easily distinguished, and no absolute distinctions should be made. Nevertheless, such a typology will help to present Saraha as a multifaceted saintly figure in Tibetan literature, and to suggest that it is in the writings of Tibetan scholars and in the imaginations of Tibetan readers and disciples that his life be sought. The remainder of this chapter presents seven variations on the story of Saraha. The majority of these focus on one of two narratives highlighting Saraha's female companions, the radish girl and the fletcheress. Others combine these two narratives or adapt material from other stories.

The Radish Girl Narrative

To medieval Tibetan readers, the best-known tale of Saraha's life is the hagiographic anthology entitled *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts*. The Eighty-Four Adepts have been inspiring figures for Buddhists throughout Asia for nearly a millennium and are also well known to modern readers.[13] Their names have been extolled in Tibet, India, Nepal, China,[14] and Java.[15] They have been the subject of numerous artistic efforts in far-flung regions such as the Tsumtsek Temple of Alchi in Ladakh (*circa* twelfth to fourteenth century), where they adorn the robe of the great Mañjuśrī statue,[16] the Kathmandu Valley, where they surround Varjadhara in a *thangka* painted in 1513,[17] and the Kham region

of Eastern Tibet, where they formed a popular subject for the Karma Gadri school of painting.[18] They have equally been the object of spiritual visions from the plains of Mongolia,[19] and they continue to be the focus of devotionally oriented painting today, from the Tibetan communities of Kathmandu[20] to the sacred mountains of Dolpo in the Nepal Himalayas.[21] It is no exaggeration to say that they are among the most inspiring subjects for creative expression in the Buddhist world.

While the anthology of tales itself has been translated several times, few of the related teachings, rituals, and songs that have contributed to making the Adepts so popular in Tibet have received attention. The immediate core of the corpus consists of twenty or so works, with perhaps a dozen others bearing such close association as to be usefully included in the discussion. A variety of genres are included in the *Eighty-Four Adepts* literature, including hagiography, textual history, liturgical manuals, iconographic instructions, florilegia of ecstatic poetry, and philosophical exegesis.

As many of the colophons to works in the *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts* corpus tell us, the ultimate goal of recounting the lives of these great masters is the perfection of the highest spiritual attainment by those who listen to or read the stories. It is the aspiration toward this goal that constitutes the central edifying theme around which the tales of Saraha's life are spun. Saraha was able to achieve spiritual realization, and thus, through emulation, so might the audience of his life story. The details of his life, varied as they are in the several accounts we now have, are arranged to highlight this overarching goal and thus are subordinate in their particulars. Like the scene changes in a play whose outcome one already knows, the specific places, people, events, trials, and victories of Saraha's life create an expectant tension which is constantly looking beyond the scene-at-hand to the finale, his realization and his ultimate journey to the realm of the ḍākinīs, the place which is a nonplace. In this literature Saraha is one magus among many: We cannot talk about the Great Brahmin in isolation from the anthologies in which he is found. Saraha is a figure enmeshed in an interconnected web of stories, rituals, and devotional poems from which his name, his identity, cannot be untangled without his unraveling altogether.

The story of Saraha in the *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts* is circular, or perhaps spiral, ending where it began and yet charting the ascending self-realization of Saraha in relation to his origins. He was born the son of a ḍākinī, and at the end of his human life achieves the highest understanding which allows him to travel back from whence he came—back to the realm of the ḍākinīs. In between, among the world of mortals, kings, and queens, he encounters a series of trials and triumphs; playing the part of a brahmin on the social level, and yet striving for liberation through Buddhist means on a spiritual level; being castigated by his society for breaking social mores; proving himself a spiritually realized being through miraculous displays; struggling for the final breakthrough with the aid of a spiritually advanced female companion; and finally reengaging in society on a higher level by teaching the Buddhist path through ecstatic songs. Let us read the story with this movement in mind.

[Saraha's] caste was brahmin. His land was Roli, a district of the city of Rajñi in Eastern India, and he was the son of a ḍākinī. Even though he was a brahmin, he had faith in the Buddhist teachings. He heard the Teachings under an incomparable master and thus had faith in the teachings of secret mantra. He kept both the brahmanical and the Buddhist vows, by day practicing according to brahmanical teachings, and by night practicing Buddhist teachings.

When [Saraha] drank mead, all the brahmins heard about it and banded together to banish him. They beseeched King Ratnapāla, saying, "Is it right that [Saraha] engages in activities that debase our religion while you are king? This Saraha is the lord of fifteen thousand towns in the land of Roli, and for drinking mead and bringing harm to our caste, he must be banished!"

The king said, "I do not wish to banish this one, who holds power over fifteen thousand." And so saying, the king went to Saraha's residence and said, "You are a brahmin, and this drinking mead is not good." Saraha said, "I drank no mead, but if you do not believe me I will take an oath, so gather all the brahmins and all the people." Everyone gathered, and Saraha said, "If I have drunk mead, may my hand burn, and if I have not drunk, it will not burn." So saying, he stuck his hand right in boiling butter, and it was unburned. The king said, "How can it be true that he drank mead?" All the brahmins said, "It is true, he did drink mead!"

Again, saying the same thing, [Saraha] drank molten copper and was unburned, and yet [the brahmins] still said, "He drank mead!" Then Saraha said, "Whoever sinks into the water drank mead, and he who does not sink did not drink." Then one by one the brahmins entered into the water and sank. Saraha was the only one who did not sink, and again he said, "I did not drink."

Again, [Saraha] said, "Let us measure on a scale. Whoever is heavier did not drink, and whoever is lighter drank." As before, Saraha was the heavier and he said, "I did not drink." In the same fashion, they loaded on three iron boulders, each equal in weight to a man, and still Saraha was the heavier. He was heavier than even six boulders. The king then said, "If such a person as you with such powers wants to drink mead, then drink mead!"

Then all the brahmins and the king paid homage to him and requested spiritual instructions, so he sang songs to the king, the queen, and the people, and these became known as the *Dohā Trilogy*. The brahmins renounced their own teachings and entered into the teachings of the Buddha. The king and his court attained spiritual boons.

After that Saraha took a fifteen-year-old servant girl and traveled to another land. They stayed in a very remote place. The man practiced spiritual attainment, and the girl was his servant and provided for him. One day, [Saraha] said, "I wish to eat radish stew." So the

> girl mixed up some buffalo milk and radishes and brought it to him. But [Saraha] had settled into a meditative trance and would not return. He did not rise from this trance for twelve years. After that, he arose and said, "Where is my radish stew?" The girl said, "You have not arisen from the trance for twelve years, so where are they now? Spring has now gone, and they are no more." At that Saraha said, "Now we are going to the mountains for spiritual attainment."
>
> To this the girl said, "A solitary body is not solitude. Being [mentally] solitary, away from the mental signifiers and concepts: this is the supreme solitude. Even though you were settled in a trance for twelve years, you cannot sever this crude signifier, the concept of radishes, so what good will come of going to the mountains?" And because she said this, Saraha understood the truth and abandoned signifiers and concepts. He took the natural meaning into his experience, attained the highest spiritual boon—the Great Seal—and worked unendingly for the good of living beings. He and the girl passed on to the land of the ḍākinīs.[22]

In this narrative two major themes are presented: Saraha's triumph over the social conventions of brahmanical social norms using magical powers gained through Buddhist practices, and the presence of a female teacher during the crucial moments of his spiritual quest and final breakthrough. These themes are omnipresent throughout the hagiographic literature devoted to the Great Brahmin, despite the fact that the characters, scenes, and narrative are varied and intermingled. In this story Saraha's female teacher is in the form of a young girl who cooks for him during his retreat. It is she, the "radish girl," who delivers the final instruction that breaks Saraha out of his attachment to conceptual thinking. As is common in tales of the adepts, this breakthrough teaching comes in the form of an admonition and, like the earlier episode of mead drinking in the same story, turns social convention on its head to emphasize the transcendent nature of the spiritual realization occasioned by the low-class girl and gained by the brahmin Saraha.

The radish girl tale shares both many tropes and many narrative elements with the other tales in the *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts*. Adepts are often from brahmanical families, and yet here we see that Saraha's family background is more primordial than mere caste or genealogy, for his mother was a ḍākinī. The trappings of high caste life are only the surface of Saraha's persona, for in secret he practiced tantra in his search for the enlightened state known as the Great Seal. But from the beginning of the tale there is really no question that Saraha will achieve his goal; indeed he and so many of the other Adepts are primordially enlightened, having enacted merely a sort of devolution from their true heritage as sons and daughters of the ḍākinīs. The following hardships, social castigation, and meetings with enlightened ḍākinīs such as the radish girl are all moments in the tale which the reader knows will lead to an inevitable return to the enlightened state, albeit in a form acknowledged by all social groups, from king to commoner. In the next tale, many of the same

events will transpire, and the outcome will be the same: the characters, however, are quite different.

The Fletcheress Narrative

Although the radish girl narrative of the *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts* appears to have been the more popular of Saraha's tales, it is not the first to have reached Tibet. Another popular narrative, what I will call the fletcheress narrative, can be discerned in a Nepalese work that was translated into Tibetan sometime during the twelfth century. Fragments of the fletcheress narrative occur first in the commentary on the *King Dohā* by Balpo Asu, alias Kyeme Dechen, the eleventh-century Nepalese propagator of the dohās, whose biographic details and role in the controversies surrounding the *Dohā Trilogy* will be discussed in part II. The first clue occurs in the opening verses of Asu's work, in which he pays homage to the Great Brahmin. Two elements of the full-fledged narrative are present in this verse: Saraha's blessing by a ḍākinī, and his subsequent association with a fletcheress, the primary element in this narrative.[23]

> The Great Brahmin, object of the Victor's offering,
> A worthy recipient, was blessed by the ḍākinī,
> Practiced tantra, and the symbolic meaning entered your mind.
> You understood reality, and befriended the fletcheress.

The next clues are found in the commentary on verse 1 of the *King Dohā*:

> Buffeted by wind, unmoving
> Water turns to waves.
> Just so does Saraha appear to the King—
> Unitary and yet in manifold guise.[24]

To this Balpo Asu adds: "For example, the king saw Saraha in [different] situations; as a brahmin, as a scholar, as a yogin, and as a low-caste person, they nevertheless did not depart from a single [person]. Just as Saraha appears to the king, so do samsara and nirvana dawn from the sphere unfabricated by egoic awareness."[25]

Here we have the four stages of life—narrative figures for the stages of spiritual growth—that occur throughout the various versions of the fletcheress narrative: brahmin, scholar, yogin, and finally a low-caste man debasing himself by cavorting with a common girl. Here in Balpo Asu's commentary we have the earliest datable example of any narrative devoted to Saraha, predating the radish girl narrative by as much as two centuries. Its presence in this commentary also suggests that this narrative was current in the Kathmandu Valley during the eleventh century, and I am inclined to suggest that its origins lie in Balpo Asu's Indian teacher Vajrapāṇi (born 1017). Unfortunately, there is no way to ascertain whether Balpo's narrative fragments were in fact taken

from a more developed tale told in his day, or whether these were the seeds of the full story as we find it told later in Tibet.

Balpo Asu's verses also find an echo in the commentary on the *King Dohā* by the twelfth-century scholar Lodro Senge, alias Parbuwa. He writes:[26] "King Mahāpāla saw Saraha appear as a brahmin reciting the Vedas, as a monk preserving the teachings, and cavorting with the fletcheress, even though the essence of his body is singular." We also find evidence for the early existence of the fletcheress narrative in Advaya Avadhūti's commentary on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, which we may only roughly date from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. Avadhūti writes that Saraha is so named "because he took the realized fletcheress."[27] It is not until several hundred years later, however, that we find an example of this story developed into a detailed and engaging tale.

The Kagyupa poet Karma Trinlaypa compiled the richest story of Saraha's life and spiritual awakening, in which he presents a greatly enhanced telling of the fletcheress narrative.[28] A version of Karma Trinlaypa's story recently came to the fore in modern studies of Saraha when Herbert Guenther made use of it in his book dealing with the Great Brahmin.[29] Guenther's translation and study of this important work are, however, beset with a number of difficulties, and thus an appreciation of Karma Trinlaypa's place in the history of Tibetan literature devoted to Saraha requires that we critique this most recent work on the history of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* concurrently with a fresh presentation of this tale of Saraha.

> In this connection, here, having heard many times the kind explanations on the *Dohā Trilogy* from our illustrious and accomplished mentor, the highly powerful Trulshik Sangye Samdrup,[30] I will set down in writing however much was clear to [my] mind, just as it was spoken. Now, in general the annals of the holy teaching's history may be known in full from other sources.
>
> Specifically, the author of these three texts is an illustrious titan of yogic practice, Saraha. In the southern region of India, he was the youngest of the five sons of his father, the Brahmin Pangpa Phunsumtsok, and his mother, the Brahmin Pangma Phunsumtsok. Entering the novitiate under Rāhulabhadra, son of the Lord [Buddha], he developed as a great scholar, erudite in the domains of knowledge. He came to be known as the Brahmin Rāhula, and also acted as the ordination preceptor of the Master Nāgārjuna.
>
> Once, in that country, the king named Lāhayāla[31] was paying his respects [to Saraha] as an object of worship, serving him with faith, full of praise. At this time, the illustrious [deity] Hayagrīva had turned into a bodhisattva named Ratnācarya in order to train those people who were suitable for instantaneous [enlightenment]. Thinking to act for the benefit of the Great Brahmin [Saraha], he emanated as a female arrowsmith in the midst of a *haṭe*,[32] or what in the Tibetan language is called a marketplace. Just then, the Brahmin Rāhula was roaming about and had arrived at a grove. In the midst of

the market, [he] saw a fletcheress, a young girl making arrows undisturbed, glancing neither right nor left, and he approached her. She deftly straightened a three-jointed natural [reed], cut it from the base and from the tip, affixed an arrowhead into the base, which she had cut in four sections, and bound it with a tendon. She adorned four feathers on the tip which she had cut in two, and with one eye shut and the other open, she lifted that arrow to the other [open eye] and assumed the stance of shooting a target. Seeing this, [Saraha] asked, "Young girl, are you a fletcheress?" She replied, "Noble son, the intent of the Buddha can be understood through symbols and actions, not through words and texts." At that, the symbolic purport of this ḍākinī came to life in his heart.

The reed is the symbol of the unfabricated, and its possessing three joints a symbol of the need to actualize the three enlightened bodies. The straightening is a symbol of straightforwardness. Cutting from the base is a symbol of the need to cut the base of cyclic existence at the root, while cutting from the tip is a symbol of the need to cease adhering to an essential self. The fourfold split at the base is a symbol of the need to enrich oneself with memory, nonmemory, nonorigination, and release from the intellect. The affixing of the arrowhead is a symbol of the need to affix the arrowhead of discriminating awareness to oneself. Binding it with tendon is a symbol of the need to be fixed by the seal of unity. The twofold split at the tip is a symbol of appropriate means and discriminating awareness; the four feathers, symbols of the view, contemplation, practice, and result. Closing one eye while opening the other is a symbol of the closed eye of discursive awareness and the open eye of pristine awareness. The stance of lifting [the arrow to the eye] is a symbol of the need to shoot the arrow of nonduality into the heart of dualistic grasping.

Understanding this, [he] was instantly liberated, and his name became "Saraha." Since in the language of the Indian southern region *sa sa ra*[33] renders "arrow" and *ha ha ta*[34] renders "to have shot," when he shot the arrow of nonduality into the heart of dualistic grasping, he became known as Saraha [*Mda' bsnun*, Arrow Shooter]. At that time he said to her, "You are not a fletcheress, but a teacher of symbolism." Thereupon he stayed with her in meditation and yogic practice. He spoke such things as this:

Until yesterday I was not a Brahmin,
From today onward I am a Brahmin.

Then he went to the charnel grounds. At that time, for the gathering of a communal feast with flavorful cooked food, diamond-songs with the purest of ornamentation were sung.

Moreover, while [Saraha] was staying at the charnel ground, associating with the fletcheress and singing many diamond-songs, all

> the people of the Indian south derided and slandered [him], saying, "The Brahmin Rāhula, without preserving the ascetic austerities of ordination, has fallen from celibacy. Being with a vile woman of inferior standing, he engages in debased practices and has taken to roaming about in all directions like a dog." This was rumored everywhere, and when King Mahāpāla heard it, he issued an order to the citizens of his dominion to sway the Great Brahmin away from these wretched practices and endeavor to beseech him to act within the purview of a pure practice, for the benefit of the citizens at the capitol.
>
> It was then that [Saraha], on behalf of the common people, put into song 160 *dohā* verses, and in so doing lead them onto the correct path. There, on behalf of the king's queens, who had also so beseeched him, he put into song 80 *dohā* verses, and in so doing introduced even them to the purport of how things really are. Then, because King Mahāpāla himself came to request that [Saraha] resume his former demeanor, on his behalf [Saraha] put into song 40 *dohā* verses and led even the great king upon the path of reality. Among other things, [Saraha] sang many diamond-songs and accomplished immeasurable benefit for living beings. He obtained a rainbow body, and even today the fortunate meet this one residing on the southern mountain of Śrī Parvata.[35]

Karma Trinlaypa's major innovation is his elaboration of the arrow as a symbol of the yogin's path. The reed, its straightening and cutting, the arrow and feathers fastened to it, the fletcheress's sighting and the archer's stance—all are given symbolic import in this narrative. Although other Tibetan writers do expand upon the fletcheress narrative, no one utilizes the imagery inherent in the tale to such great effect.

Several episodes included in Guenther's translation are not present in this text, including the meeting of the four brahmin girls and the five brothers, as well as Saraha's drinking of four cups of beer offered by the same girls. Neither too is the country of Beta or Vidarbha, appearing at the beginning of Guenther's translation,[36] found in this text, nor is there any mention of that country becoming empty as a result of a mass spiritual awakening, as in the conclusion of Guenther's passage.[37] The question must be, then, whether the manuscript employed in 1969 to translate the same passage is substantially different from the version translated above. One possible explanation is that the unique manuscript from which Guenther worked in 1969 contained additional material, and one possible source for this could be Tsuklak Trengwa's *Scholar's Feast* of 1565, in which episodes corresponding very closely to the problem areas cited above do occur. Tsuklak Trengwa's account of Saraha's life runs:

> Lord Rangjung teaches that the illustrious Saraha, best of all adepts of the middle mantra, came 360 years after the Teacher's liberation

from suffering. However, Chenga Lazik Repa quotes from the *Tantra which Condenses the Perfect Unsurpassed Meaning,* which states,

> I, when forty-two years have passed
> Since the [Buddha's] liberation from suffering,
> Will myself arise in Orgyan.
> Called Padmasambhava,
> I am prophesied as a teacher of mantra.

and,

> In one hundred and twenty years,
> Endowed with the fortune of supreme simultaneity,
> One called Saraha will arise.
> Realizing the purport of the three freedoms from conditions,
> He himself will pass to the station of Buddhahood.

I do not accept the reports of this tantra.

In brief, around then, in the south, at Vidharbha, which in Tibetan is known as the country of Beta, [he] was the youngest of five sons of a great brahmin. They all were quite learned in all brahmanical knowledge. One day, after being received by King Mahāpāla, they came to a resting place in a grove, where there were four brahmin girls making offerings and one low-caste girl. [The brothers asked them,] "Where do you come from?" Their answers set the teachings of the Dharma deep in their minds, and the four elder brothers disappeared with the brahmin girls into the sky-realm. The youngest brother despaired and, according to [the Third Karmapa,] Noble Rangjung [Dorje],[38] took ordination under the monastic son of Rāhula, Mahāyāna Śrīkīrti. It is generally said that he took ordination under Rāhula.[39] He became perfect in ethical conduct and was an incomparable scholar.

One time he came to a grove and beheld a circle of girls like those previously, holding a tantric feast. He drank four different kinds of mead from a skull-cup and the primordial awareness of the four joys was born [in him]. The four brahmin girls revealed themselves as ḍākinīs and bestowed upon him the four empowerments. The Diamond ḍākinī said, "This is your master," and in the sky appeared the divine son Sukhanātha or Matiratna and Glorious Hayagrıva. They granted the teachings of instantaneous Great Seal. [The younger brother's] body became drunk with mead, his speech drunk with diamond-songs, his mind drunk with co-emergent primordial awareness.

> Many are of a single taste, ocean-like—
> Body in blissful space.
> Whatever appears shines as Great Seal—

> Body in fearless space.
> Groundless actions like a madman.
> Body in selfless space.
> Desires wear themselves out like a child—
> Body in desireless space.
>
> Yesterday I was no brahmin,
> I, brahmin pure.
> Today I am a brahmin,
> The real brahmin is great purity.
>
> Yesterday I was no monk,
> I, ascetic monk.
> Today I am a monk,
> The real monk is great asceticism.

> So did he sing.
>
> He journeyed to a market and beheld a fletcheress making arrows, and all appearances dawned as symbols. The fletcheress instructed him in the Seals, and they practiced tantra. The people beseeched him, so he sang the *People Dohā*, which teaches principally the enlightened body of emanation. The king's queens beseeched him, and he sang the *Queen Dohā*, which teaches principally the enlightened body of enjoyment. The king himself beseeched him, and he sang the *King Dohā*, which teaches principally the enlightened body of dharma. So singing, everyone was liberated, and the kingdom became empty.
>
> It is said that later the three texts were written on palm leaves and spread after falling into the hands of two brother scribes.[40]

Although the narratives of the radish girl and the fletcheress appear to have distinct origins, this fact does not mean that they remained so throughout Tibetan literary history. The Drigung Kagyupa scholar Kunga Rinchen (1475–1527) intertwines the version of the *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts* with that of Balpo Asu's tradition, and he prefaces his hagiographic compendium of key Kagyupa figures, *Golden Rosary of Kagyupa Masters*, with this next tale. Here we find both the radish girl and the fletcheress coming to Saraha's assistance. As in the fletcheress narrative, Saraha moves through four stages of social life, from brahmin to ordained monk, then tantric yogin, and finally to the life of an outcast. In Kunga Rinchen's retelling, however, it is not the fletcheress who delivers the important breakthrough teaching, but the radish girl. The story runs thus:

> In the land of Rādha, Saraha was the finest among four brahmin brothers who had mastered all the Vedas. Since he was in fact a hero in whom the noble lineage had awakened, he had faith in the Buddhist teachings, and when taking monastic ordination under the

> Abbot Rāhulabhadra, he asked that his name be the same as that of the Abbot. He mastered all of the collections of Buddhist teachings and took up the abbacy of the temple at Vikramaśila Monastery. Then, encouraged by a wisdom ḍākinī, he prostrated and beseeched the Teacher Visukalpa, who initiated him [into tantric practice] and granted him spiritual instructions. Still, he gained but a little certainty. So, in order to reach perfection, he cast off the trappings of monastic ordination, took a suitable servant girl as a consort, and stayed together with her in the forest. One time he said to the girl, "Boil some radishes for me," and the girl went to pull some radishes. Saraha became entranced in meditation and remained so for twelve years. When he arose from that state, as the servant girl was supposed to have brought food, he said, "Where are my boiled radishes?" The servant girl told of his [twelve-year] meditation, at which he said, "Now we must take to a place of solitude." Then the servant girl said, "If the cravings of the mind are not severed, even though your body is in solitude you will not find solace. Alas, what kind of meditation is this which cannot even sever a craving for boiled radishes!" Saraha thought, "She is right," and taking as a second consort a female arrowsmith, he went to engage in tantric practice. As he straightened arrows, he would cast them about, so providing metaphors [of spiritual realization] for people. Realizing the natural, innate primordial wisdom, he sang this song:
>
> Until today I was no monk,
> Today at last a monk I am.
> The real monk is a magnificent monk;
> Glorious Heruka is the monk supreme.
>
> Amid the rumors and ridicule of the common people, he converted the nonbelievers with miracles, and sang songs of realization such as the *Dohā Trilogy*. While staying on Śrī Parvata Mountain, he trained his pure disciples and then passed on to the magnificent Realm of the ḍākinīs.[41]

In this story Kunga Rinchen integrates the two most prevalent tales of Saraha's life, thus demonstrating a characteristic move in the hagiographic writings on Saraha in seeking to account for differences through inclusivism and avoiding any controversy over the correct version. For Kunga Rinchen, there was no conflict between the two accounts, and indeed if we imagine that Kunga Rinchen placed this story at the beginning of his *Golden Rosary of Kagyupa Masters* primarily to inspire his readers, there is no reason for conflict. As we shall see, his synthetic approach stands in stark contrast to the literature claiming Saraha as an authorizer of a specific tradition or practice, where differences are the subject of much polemic debate.

Tales of Dohā Lineages

Saraha is also a key figure a work entitled *Tales of Dohā Lineages*. Tales such as these were the subject of great criticism by scholars more interested in canonical accounts of the Eighty-Four Adepts. Already at the close of the thirteenth century, Chomden Raldri made a general critique of the proliferation of stories surrounding Saraha: "There are many other ignorant people who have composed wrong stories of Saraha, and since [those stories] are but strings of mistakes made by the inexperienced, pay no heed to them!"[42] Several hundred years later, the great scholar of the Drukpa Kagyu school, Pema Karpo (1527–1592),[43] is entirely dismissive of the claims of this group of stories: "In tales of the *dohā* songs it is said that [Saraha] came three-hundred years after the Buddha, and that his ordinating abbot was Rāhula; this is a later fabrication."[44] The *Tale of Dohā Lineages* presented here is anonymous and undated, thus making it impossible to attribute this to any particular period or school. Judging from Pema Karpo's remark, however, we can assume that such stories were current by the sixteenth century:

> The totally perfect Buddha first brought his mind to supreme enlightenment, then gathered the two accumulations [of wisdom and merit], and finally, after becoming a perfect enlightened being, taught the 84,000 groups of dharma teachings for the benefit of sentient beings. He empowered the sixteen bodhisattvas, saying, "The various things that appear have the nature of mind, and though you may treat them as objects, think of them as aspects of the mind. Furthermore, all the appearances of the mind are the Great Seal, and if you dwell in this, you will have the ultimate attainment."
>
> After 100 years he passed from suffering. Then 300 years later came the Great Brahmin Saraha. For 300 human years he emanated in a city and worked for the benefit of sentient beings. Four hundred years after the Buddha passed from suffering, Nāgārjuna and Saraha the Younger were born. Nāgārjuna's country was south, in the city of Karahate in Vidarbha. His father was the royal man Krikrama, and his mother was called Grihiti. They had one son, and from the sky a word came: "Nāgārjuna." As a householder his name was Dhamodhara, as a monk his name was Śākyabhikṣu, and when he was empowered into the body of the bodhisattva Ratnamāṭi, his secret name was Advayavajra.
>
> One time Nāgārjuna went to the land of Bharita. There he drew an image of his master and made offerings and prostrations to it. Then he saw the Brahmin Saraha in the same body as the bodhisattva Hayagrīva. For the benefit of [Nāgārjuna's] training, [Saraha told the following story.]

Four ḍākinīs manifested as one low-class brahmin girl and sent her forth. In the land of Vārāṇasī, [Saraha] was acting as the source of refuge for the king, and the [brahmin girl] was standing by the door where he was. The brahmin [Saraha] . . . gave teachings and blessings, went outside, and when he saw the brahmin girl he became infatuated and asked her, "Where did you come from?" She replied, "I come from nowhere, and I'm going nowhere. Right now I'm not doing anything. I am a brahmin girl by caste." Then she recited the Vedas, and [he] . . . questioned her. "You have no husband?" he said. "I do not," she said. "If I were to be your husband, would that be fitting?" he said. "It would," she said. But then [he] was carried away by his four elder brothers and watched over by his younger brother. He thought, "I can't be away from this low-class girl! My mind despairs. It would be better if I were to join the monkhood and become a Buddhist."

Now, at this time a certain monk came to the king's castle. Previously, [he had seen] four brides drink four kinds of mead in four skull-cups in the grove, so he yelled, "That one has taken mead!" Considering this, the brahmin [Saraha] thought, "It is not possible that [a brahmin girl would drink] a cupful of mead! Could it not be that she is a ḍākinī incarnated in this world?" And so thinking, he asked her, "Are you of the family of the Great Way?" And as he asked this, [she] bestowed upon him all four empowerments, primordial awareness was born [in him], and a realization of the seven understandings dawned [in him]. The understanding that all various things are nondual, the understanding that the many are of a single taste, the understanding of interconnectedness of great bliss, an understanding of the encounter, and an understanding of the three enlightened bodies all dawned upon him in succession.

At that [Saraha] went to the city and in the market met the fletcheress Hedharma. [She asked him], "Where did you first come from?" But he did not say anything at all. [She said,] "Since this arrow can do anything, I'll shoot it into your heart!" He could not move; he was without grounding and was freed from conscious thought. He understood the enlightened body of reality. [She said,] "This arrow [flies] straight without wavering through the king's four battalions. It does not run askew for any reason. This not running askew, [which is actually the] unborn natural state, you should understand as the enlightened body of enjoyment." Then he took that wise fletcheress as a consort, and they went off to practice tantra. The people reviled and slandered them, so [Saraha] put the *Dohā Trilogy* into song for the sake of the king, the queen, and the common folk.

Master Balpo says that at that time Śabari . . . heard Saraha put the *Dohā Trilogy* into song and set them down in writing.[45]

In this account of Saraha, which makes up the first section of the *Tales of Dohā Lineages*, we see the fletcheress narrative recast in yet another, more elaborate variation. Again Saraha meets a mystery girl—"coming from nowhere, going nowhere"—who is in reality a messenger of enlightenment, sent by the ḍākinīs. Here Saraha's life and liberation are set against the backdrop of the teachings of the Buddha, which in this case are characterized not as Mahāyāna teachings, but as no less than the Great Seal teachings themselves, of which Saraha was perhaps the most famous proponent for Tibetan scholars.

Oral Traditions of Vajrāsana

After the Great Brahmin and his consort—be she the radish girl or the fletcheress—had left this plane and moved to the land of the ḍākinīs, stories of his life flourished. There were certainly other versions of Saraha's life story popular in Tibet at various times and in various regions,[46] and in the following I present two of these. I have chosen them not so much because they were popular or even very important in the development of Saraha's tale in Tibet; indeed, questions of this sort are difficult to answer. Both of these tales are, however, quite different from the stories encountered earlier in the chapter, for they exemplify the creativity in both storytelling and historiography that a figure such as Saraha can engender. Among the more distinctive tales of the Great Brahmin is that told by Pema Karpo, which appears to have no relation to either the radish girl or the fletcheress narratives:

> In the *White Lotus of Compassion* [*Sūtra*] it is said, "After I pass from suffering, in the city of Suvarṇadroṇa two monks ordained from the brahmin caste, Vijña and Sañjaya, will appear. Magnificent emanations, powerful, renowned for their great strength, lustrous, disciplined, fearless, learned, upholders of the sūtras, upholders of the vinaya, subduers of demons, perfect teachers to many, enthralling, lauded, and beloved—in the guise of chaste practice, these two will come to spread [the teachings]."
>
> In tales of the dohā songs it is said that [Saraha] came 300 years after the Buddha and that his ordinating abbot was Rāhula; this is a later fabrication. According to the oral tradition of Vajrāsana, in the town of Suvarṇadroṇa, which is a part of that eastern center [of Buddhism], Vārāṇasi, two boys named Thotsun Drupje or Vijña and Dechen Dakpo or Sañjaya were born into that caste which delights in the six acts—the brahmins. These two came to understand all the treatises. They thought, "In our house we make offerings to Maheśvara, but if we made many offerings to the scriptures of the Lord Buddha, would it not be much better for our Maheśvara?"
>
> Now, they had heard that Maheśvara and Umā actually dwelt on Mount Tise, and they said, "We should go there and ask them." As they made great preparations to go, the gods hailed them and they

hurried there. They saw the great god's vehicle free-floating, fashioned as if out of white clouds. They saw this and were overjoyed. Next to him at his head they saw the Goddess Umā collecting fruit in a grove, and they made devoted prostrations. From the grove of gigantic blossoms they heard, "This is our Lord," and so they came nearer. They saw that a thousandfold retinue surrounded the great god. The master of the retinue took them in his hand and carried them into [Maheśvara's] presence, and they prostrated in devotion.

Iśvara asked them, "Where have you come from?" They told him how they came to be there. Then, when the time came for the monks to eat, 500 arhats who dwelt in Lake Manasarovar came there, and the great god with his consort and retinue fed them all manner of items. [When the monks] were satiated, they received teachings from [the gods] and went back [into the presence of Maheśvara].

At that time Iśvara said to the two brahmin brothers, "What pupils you are, who make offerings to us with such joy! You are famous for being of such noble qualities, for such supreme qualities that wipe away the evils of this world. When you make your excellent offerings with a joyous state of mind, you will think as if you are enlightened. The incomparable master of the three worlds, the Buddha, is worshipped by the astute. Therefore, you two should make offerings to the Teacher and his scriptures." They then became supreme and led lives equal to the sun and the moon.

They returned home and cast away the Vedic teachings like so many weeds. They distributed all the wealth of their homes, and the elder brother founded Nālanda at the birthplace of Śāriputra. The younger founded Vajrāsana and Mahābodhi, and the two brothers both took ordination under the Teacher's son, Rāhula. The elder took the name Rāhula, and the younger took the name Vīryabhadra, and they became upholders of the Three Baskets [of the Dharma]. And yet they desired a teaching greater than the baskets of the Lower Way, [so they adopted] the Philosophical Way. They desired something even greater than that, so Vijña manifested to the elder brother in a maṇḍala of Guhyasamāja, and in that [form] gave him empowerments, explanations, and instructions for the [*Guhyasamāja*] *Tantra,* and many other teachings on arcane mantra as well.

In this way, the two brothers dwelt in the temples that they founded, externally keeping up the appearances of the Śrāvaka teachings while internally meditating in the yoga of the Diamond Way. They lived for nearly 500 years. [The elder brother] Rāhula ordained Nāgārjuna and bestowed instructions upon him. He composed such works as the *Commentary on the Buddha's Skull* [*Tantra*]. He sent Nāgārjuna to Nālanda. A yoginī descended from the serpents with outlandish dress became his follower, and they lived together. [The people] slandered him, saying, "He has fallen from his

> place as the great regent of the elders!" Then, in the manner of a fletcher he sang the *Dohā Trilogy* to the people, the queen, and the king. He went to Śrī Parvata, where he dwells today.[47]

As we have seen, Pema Karpo is critical of other accounts of Saraha's life circulating in Tibet.[48] In fact, he eschews both of the two primary narratives that we have surveyed, in favor of what he claims to be "the oral tradition of Vajrāsana." The story he relates is in fact no less than a creation myth for Vajrāsana—the place at which Śākyamuni Buddha himself achieved enlightenment—in which Iśvara gladly renounces the worship proffered him by his two most devoted adherents so that they may devote their attention to the Buddha, and bears similarity to other tales dedicated to the same theme.[49] In Pema Karpo's retelling, Saraha is placed squarely in a mythic context that stresses the preeminence of Buddhism over the orthodox gods of Śaivism.[50] Saraha himself appears as Rāhula, the devoted patron of the gods and spiritual seeker. It is only at the end that we find mention of Saraha's *Dohā Trilogy*, a female companion, or any mention of his playing the role of a social outcast.

The *Seven Currents of Oral Instruction*

We turn finally to a sixteenth-century hagiographic collection dedicated to Indian siddhas. The story of Saraha was also told by that great collector of Indic lore Tāranātha in his *Seven Currents of Oral Instruction*. This work, completed in about the year 1600, is the latest datable tale of the Great Brahmin that we will look at, though it is clear that Tāranātha was drawing to a greater or lesser extent on earlier Tibetan sources or traditions, as well as from the teachings of his Indian master Buddhaguptanātha. Again we find a retelling of the arrowsmith narrative, though for Tāranātha she is a fletcher's daughter. Again, as in the earliest fragments of the fletcheress narrative, we find Saraha moving through various social settings as he traverses his spiritual path. Here, however, we do find one detail from the radish girl narrative in the *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts*: the episode in which Saraha challenges his brahmin detractors to a floating contest.

In this passage we see Tāranātha making a syncretic move similar to that of Kunga Rinchen some hundred years earlier. Tāranātha's account opens his *Seven Currents of Oral Instruction*,[51] where we find Saraha cast as the progenitor of the Great Seal teachings:

> The first teaching current is that of the Great Seal instructions: The great master Rāhula was born in Oḍiviśa. A brahmin by caste, in his youth he became learned in the four Vedas and their ancillary texts, the eighteen domains of knowledge, and the eight kinds of investigation. While he was reciting a secret text to 500 brahmin boys, Vajrayoginī arrived in the form of a mead girl and gave over and over again to the master the nectar of supreme primordial awareness in a

liquor. Without thinking, he asked for it and thereon achieved a supreme meditative absorption internally.

Still, gossip spread, saying, "[Rāhula] has fallen from his brahmin caste." Now the brahmins desired to belittle him, but the master had acquired the powers of a yogin internally, and he made the brahmins vomit out mead! He flung a giant stone into a lake and said, "If I have drunk mead, may this stone sink. But if it is you who have drunk and not I, may it float." And so saying, the stone began to float on the water's surface. At this the brahmins were defeated by his power.

He traveled to Madhyadeśa and took ordination in the teachings of the Buddha. Eventually he became the supreme monk of the three baskets [of the teachings]. The master's ordinating abbot was the Elder Kāṇha, and [Kāṇha's] ordinating abbot was the Noble Aśvaghoṣa. [Aśvaghoṣa's] ordinating abbot was Upagupta, though master [Buddhagupta] says that it is difficult to fix these ancient ordination lineages. In Tibetan lineages of [monastic] vows it is reported that [Saraha] was the direct disciple of [the Buddha's] son, Rāhula. Nevertheless, it is better if it is left without analyzing it.

Then he became the abbot of Nālanda. He worked extensively for the Teachings. The sūtras of the Great Way rose to preeminence and popularity, and this is said to be [during] the time of the master. After this he decided he should practice mental austerities, and without straying from a meditative absorption in which his mind was without referent, he moved to various lands.

Finally, in Marhaṭa in the south, he saw a yoginī; of the realm whose continuum of self had been liberated. In the guise of a fletcher's daughter, by straightening arrows she pointed out the purport of abiding reality through symbolism. Accordingly, [Saraha] was introduced and beheld reality directly. The fletcher's daughter taught him as his consort, and they traveled to various lands working as fletchers. His primordial awareness increased evermore, and his name became Saraha, the Arrow Shooter. Earlier he was the Elder of all the monastic communities, though now he was totally asocial. The king and people came to stare and mock him, so in the form of a fletcher he sang this dohā and many other diamond-songs:

Kyela! I am a brahmin.
I practice with the reed girl.
Neither caste nor noncaste do I see.
I keep to the shaven-head monk's asceticism,
As I wander together with this girl.

Desire, desireless—there is no separation.
Such impurity is only a concept:
Of this others are not aware.
Viper-like misfortunates.[52]

> So singing, the king and the rest, 5,000 in all, saw directly the purport of abiding reality. His body became that of an Awareness Holder, and with a magical emanation he traveled to the sky and finally disappeared—so it is said. Furthermore, the Great Seal [teachings] that point out the mind at rest came in the thousands, were famous in all the lands, and thus came to be everywhere.
>
> [Master Buddhagupta] said that, having worked for the benefit of many beings, [Saraha] is in this body dwelling in another Buddha Realm. This is consistent with Tibetan [tales]. Later, in a fragmentary Indic manuscript of notes to the *Buddha's Skull* [*Tantra*] there is nothing regarding [Saraha's] having been ordained in the middle period [of his life], and it appears to claim that the brahmin Rāhula and the elder Rāhula are different. This is clearly what the Translator of Minyak claims, and there are no grounds for disputing this.[53]

Tāranātha was a critical historian in his own right and was ever ready to charge his opponents with ignorance of the facts as he saw them. He also evinces a candid skepticism regarding the very possibility of writing the history of his ancient predecessors. In this it appears he was following Buddhagupta's counsel, for as he tells us: "Master [Buddhagupta] says that it is difficult to fix these ancient ordination lineages. In Tibetan lineages of [monastic] vows it is reported that [Saraha] was the direct disciple of [the Buddha's] son, Rāhula. Nevertheless, it is better if it is left without analyzing it."[54] He himself could not leave this point be, however, for at the end of his tale he takes recourse to an Indic manuscript to settle the confusion. He tells us: "In a fragmentary Indic manuscript of notes to the *Buddha's Skull* [*Tantra*] there is nothing regarding [Saraha's] having been ordained in the middle period [of his life], and it appears to claim that the brahmin Rāhula and the elder Rāhula are different. This is clearly what the Translator of Minyak claims, and there are no grounds for disputing this point."[55] We will see later the type of lineage history that Tāranātha was criticizing when we look at Drakpa Dorje Palzangpo's *History of the Three Ordination Lineages.*

From Story to Song

One theme running through each of the hagiographies we have looked at is the importance laid on Saraha's songs. Indeed, he is known as much as anything as a bard, singing tales of enlightenment for the sake of royalty and common folk alike. Although we will look at the creation of the poetic spiritual songs attributed to him more fully in part II, it is not out of place here to comment on the relation between his verses and his hagiographies, for this again reveals the way that certain themes and events in his life stories are mixed and transformed by readers and writers.

As a teacher of Buddhist doctrine, Saraha is certainly best known for his trilogy of dohā songs. In addition to these, over a dozen songs ranging in length

from ten lines to ten pages are attributed to him in the Tibetan canonical collections. The most pertinent of Saraha's teachings in relation to the *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts* literature are three single verses to be found in five anthologies of tantric songs and in commentaries upon two of those anthologies. Abhayadatta, the Indic fountainhead of the *Tales*, is held by the redactors of the Peking Tibetan Canon to be the author of one of these commentaries, in which he provides a quite technical exegesis of one verse from each of the Eighty-Four Adepts.[56] These same songs are included in the liturgical manual by Jamgon Kongtrul, as well as in the revised version of the *Tales* by Jamgon Amyeshap, and thus appear to have been strongly associated with the narratives since their early presence in Tibet. This song is also found in an anthology of tantric songs compiled by the Indian master Gyagar Dampa, alias Phadampa Sangye. This single verse thus provides a crucial link between the various traditions of *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts* and the prolific anthologizing activities of Phadampa Sangye. It also provides us with an early date for this song, for it must have been in currency before Phadampa Sangye's death in about 1117. We will look more at the traditions surrounding this interesting figure in a later chapter. At any rate, Saraha's song runs thus:[57]

> Hey friends, this innate spirituality
> Is found nowhere else than from the mouth of the master.
> If you understand this ultimate concern, the essence of his words,
> Your mind will be immortal, your body ageless.

As with the verse of homage cited earlier, the striking thing about this verse is its almost total lack of concrete relation to Saraha's narrative. None of the key terms in the verse—the innate, the ultimate concern, or immortality—occurs in Saraha's story, a fact that raises two questions regarding their connection: How were the songs initially anthologized and associated with the narratives, and how might a reader conceive of their relation? In Saraha's case, we can note that a verse quite similar to this is found in the most popular of his longer songs in the Tibetan Canon, the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. It is thus possible that the compiler of the anthology had at his disposal a variety of works attributed to the adepts, and chose select verses from among them to create the collection.

The relation between the life of any one adept and the song attached to the adept's name is illustrated nicely by one of the anthologies compiled by Phadampa Sangye. At the close of this anthology the songs are said to have been sung at a tantric festival in Oḍḍiyāna convened by all forty adepts. For the reader with this mythic vision of the convening of enlightened masters in mind, the songs need no more relation to the narratives of the adepts than the fact that they were sung at one time in their illustrious lives, and their selection is merited by the fact that they were all sung at the same religious event in which the teachings and the collective lives of the saints are integrated. In the next chapter we will look at Tibetan literature inspired by this complex of poetry and hagiography as we find Saraha in rituals, visions, and dreams.

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2

Meeting the Great Brahmin in Rituals, Paintings, and Dreams

Listen you noble sons.
The Master, the Great Brahmin
Is mind itself.
To search elsewhere is, alas, a mistake!

—Rangjung Dorje

If the Great Brahmin Saraha was a popular subject for hagiographic tales, he was also equally important in such diverse roles as a focus for liturgical rituals, as a monk, as the subject for hymns of praise and ornate poetry, and as a vision encountered in dreams. This chapter continues the survey begun in the previous chapter, turning first to devotional verse dedicated to Saraha, then to iconographic guides of the Eighty-Four Adepts. It then presents one Tibetan master's dream-journey, in which he visits the immortal Saraha on Śrī Parvata Mountain and, finally, explores the portrayal of the Great Brahmin in liturgical manuals, a genre that draws upon all the types of literature we have encountered so far.

Devotional Verse to the Great Brahmin

Devotional verse has been a popular genre throughout Tibetan literary history. Often employed to revere the Buddha or prominent deities, the encomium (*stotra, bstod pa*), or verse of praise, was also a favorite form in which to extol the great deeds of past masters. Their popularity is no doubt due to their prominence in the Indic Buddhist literature translated by Tibetans. Indeed, a volume of stotras begins many of the Tanjur collections produced throughout the centuries.

The Sakya master Śākya Chokden's (1428–1509) encomium to Saraha is a fine indigenous Tibetan example of the genre. Śākya Chokden was clearly aware of the fletcheress narrative and draws heavily from it for his praise of Saraha's life and liberation. In an intimate second-person voice he leads us progressively, methodically, and slowly through the stages of Saraha's journey from brahmin to scoundrel to enlightened saint, pausing at each moment of success to praise what here become the calculated and inevitable steps toward the final realization of the cosmos as nothing more and less than the Great Seal. With this encomium the Tibetan reader may, as Śākya Chokden urges, keep Saraha "in his heart and in his mind." A full translation of Śākya Chokden's devotional verses is found in the Epilogue.[1]

Devotional verses are often found at the beginning of exegetical works as well. Often these are complex verses inspired by the principles of Indian poetics and, as such, are far removed from the more modest poetic style of the dohā songs of the adepts themselves. A beautiful example of such verses devoted to Saraha are to be found in the opening pages of Karma Trinlaypa's commentary on the *People Dohā*.

> Enlightened body, a corona of imperishable ornamentation: Even displaying various and sundry pure and impure disciplines, it is the experience of a singular magnificent bliss.
> Enlightened speech, with sixty imperturbable facets: Even spinning the various wheels of spiritual teachings, the three vehicles, provisional and definitive meanings, it is the melody of a tireless roar.
>
> Enlightened mind, supreme among all modes of nonconceptuality. Even perceiving the variety of how and what there is with a compassionate spirit, it is the enlightened body of reality, spontaneously arisen.
> To the self-arisen Victor, deep and clear, to the vital one of vast resources I pay homage with genuine body speech and mind.
>
> Shooting into the heart of dualist thought—
> The arrow of primordial awareness, in which subject and object are inseparable—
> Liberates one into a realm where cyclic existence and liberation are equal.
> To the illustrious arrowsmith Saraha I bow down.
>
> Though he has known and seen suchness before the Buddha,
> Out of compassion for living beings he acted in this realm of becoming with the drama of illusion.
> For his descendants, the famous Karmapas, the black-hatted scholars who point out the mirage of becoming and quiescence,
> Saraha himself is the very foundation of nonreferential reverence.
>
> The path which is the single resolve of all the Buddhas of the three Times,

The purport of the Great Seal, unspeakable, inconceivable, ineffable—
Possessed of these resources in the natural and spontaneous sphere,
To that powerful one, erudite and adept, I bow down.

Here, may you relate a little something of this,
The foundation of the view beyond limit,
The deep purport spontaneously arisen,
The Buddha in the very palm of one's hand.[2]

These verses weave together a profound sense of devotion with a forcefully stated sectarian link between the Black Hat Karma Kagyu school and the seminal figure of Saraha. By claiming that Saraha in fact attained enlightenment before the Buddha—a bold assertion—Karma Trinlaypa claims also a lineage for the Karma Kagyu school that stretches beyond the Buddha himself to the primordial origins of enlightenment itself, embodied in the figure of Saraha. Saraha is certainly an object of reverence, and yet here—in a manner entirely befitting the teachings of nonduality in the dohās—he fades from the objectifying grasp of the devotee as the "foundation of nonreferential devotion." In these verses the vision of Saraha the Fletcher receives its ultimate philosophical spin, as Saraha shoots the arrow he has crafted, the "arrow of primordial awareness," straight into the cause of samsaric bondage, the "heart of dualist thought."

Iconographic Guides

Suggesting a sort of visual analog to devotional verses, iconographic guides detail the proper colors, body postures, environments, and consorts of the adepts. As was seen in the introduction, the Eighty-Four Adepts were important throughout the Tibetan cultural region as the subject of *thangkas*, murals, and woodblock prints,[3] as well as drawings. Many examples of their images exist, as even an arbitrary survey shows: Buton Rinchendrup is said by his biographer and student, Dratsepa Rinchen Namgyal, to have completed a set of drawings of the adepts.[4] The Eighty-Four Adepts adorn the Path and Result Chapel of Palkor Choday temple at Gyantse.[5] This chapel was completed in 1425.[6] At Sakya Monastery the prolific master Bodong Panchen Chokle Namgyal (1376–1451) painted a large mural of Saraha.[7] The Sixth Zhamar, Garwang (1584–1630), painted a mural of Saraha in the ancient eastern seat of the Karma Kagyupa school, Karma Gon.[8] *Thangkas* of the Eighty-Four Adepts were painted by masters of various schools, including the Jonangpa during the seventeenth century.[9] In 1726 Situ Panchen Chokyi Jungnay (1699–1744) painted a set of *thangkas* dedicated to the eight adepts who inhabit the tantric charnel grounds, the eighth of which was Saraha.[10] In the 1740s Zhuchen Tshultrim Rinchen described murals of the Eighty-Four Adepts at the great monastery of Derge,

which were based upon the verses of praise attributed to Vajrāsana.[11] Finally, the Great Brahmin often decorated the first folios of woodblock printed books.[12]

All of these examples participate in a conservative iconographic tradition tied to manuals for painters and other artists. There is a remarkable degree of similarity between depictions of the adepts, though this is not to say that there was no variation. An apparently early iconographic work dedicated to the Eighty-Four Adepts is preserved in the Practical Arts section of the Derge Tanjur. Attributed to an otherwise unknown author named Śrīsena, the work is titled "*Realizations of the Eighty Adepts*."[13] One small descriptive phrase is dedicated to each of the adepts, as that of Saraha exemplifies: "Saraha, yellow in color, with the posture of mediation, together with a woman."[14] According to the colophon, this work was composed in the Kathmandu Valley, and if the date of 291 is calculated according to Nepali Samvat chronology,[15] then it was completed in 1162.[16]

It is in the Tibetan world proper, however, that the iconography of the Eighty-Four Adepts leads to a proliferation of manuals. One such iconographic work was rescued from oblivion and edited in 1735 by the great "antiquarian" of the eighteenth century Katok Rigdzin Tsewang Norbu. In *The Golden Spoon of Good Explanations—An Iconographic Guide for the Eighty-Four Adepts*, Tsewang Norbu provides brief prescriptions for the painting of the adepts, some of which are more correctives to existing guides rather than self-contained and complete instructions. For instance, his guide to Saraha's iconography leaves much to be fleshed out by the painter: "Saraha: His body is white and pure. This master, an accomplished fletcher, is not old, and since this is so, do not apply any characteristics of old age."[17]

This is not much for the aspirant wishing to meet the adepts in the ritual circle to go on, but fortunately Kongtrul provides a more detailed account of the Great Brahmin's visage in *The Stream of Attainment*, no doubt to aid the ritual performer engaged in visualization as much as the painter in need of directions. He describes Saraha thus: "On a seat of antelope's hide Saraha [sits]. His body color is white, and red his hair. With his hands in the manner of an arrow straightening, he points out the primordial awareness of suchness with a symbol unwavering and straightforward teaching. His hair is straight and pure [like that of a] young colt before shearing. He wears a red loincloth. To his left he is supported by a yoginī of the spiritual realm in the guise of a fletcheress."[18]

In the following passage, Tsewang Norbu affords us a small glimpse into his manuscript-hunting activities and his efforts to preserve old artistic styles surrounding the Eighty-Four Adepts. He claims the source of this nearly lost tradition to be *Vīryavajra—no doubt the same as the *Vīryaprabha mentioned in the liturgical works of Tāranātha, who is praised as the codifier of traditions relating to the adepts. Tsewang Norbu also mentions Tāranātha's incarnation, Jetsun Dampa Lobsang Tenpay Gyaltsen (1635–1723), who apparently also wrote an iconographic guide for the adepts. One can only speculate at the fate

that befell Jetsun Dampa's manuscript, and marvel at the lengths to which Tsewang Norbu apparently went in order to preserve this tradition:

> Without following the incorrect disputes of old [regarding] the identification of the Eighty-Four Adepts, I followed the texts of the evocation rituals, empowerments, dohā songs, and perfection stage [practices] for each adept, the instructions of Master Pawo Dorje, and the authoritative iconographic guide translated by the translator of Minyag. I saw the mural at Heruka Temple of Rabten Tekchok and the cotton drawing, both by that scholar of scholars, the great chariot, the Jonang Incarnation, Lord Vajradhāra Kunga Nyingpo.
>
> Furthermore, I acquired a slightly crumpled old autograph copy of an iconographic guide composed by Jetsun Dampa in a rubbish pile at Jonang. With these, I, Tsewang Norbu—born in the land of painting where the artistic styles of Kham and Central Tibet mix—composed this pure and clear realization [manual] for a hundred spiritual boons, a true witness, unvitiated by my own fabrications, in 1735.[19]

The introductory and concluding verses of *The Golden Spoon of Good Explanations* reveal much about his attitudes toward the importance of the adepts and the need to maintain an authoritative literary tradition. In the opening verses Tsewang Norbu explains his reasons for writing this guide. As in the editorial work performed upon *The Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts* by Amezhab Ngawang Kunga Sonam, Tsewang Norbu seeks not only to preserve the teachings of his spiritual ancestor Tāranātha, but also to correct traditions that he feels have either become distorted or simply never had an authentic foundation to begin with. As with Tāranātha's claim that the *Ratnamāla* was an apocryphal work forged by a Nepalese, for Tsewang Norbu the tales that originated in Nepal are dubious and unworthy of the attentions of the faithful:

> The enlightened bodies of perfected primordial awareness are directionless,
> All of their aspects play in a net of illusion.
> Unencompassed by thought, beyond the minds of children.
> According to my memory, for the sake of disciples,
> I will explain to others the well-redacted
> Stories of the Indian adepts by the Omniscient Kunga Nyingpo [Tāranātha],
> Which are authentic and without errors regarding the various
> Life stories which first appeared to disciples.
>
> This *Golden Spoon of Good Explanations* seeks to clear up
> The myopia of errors brought about by former disputes,
> And the crooked minds which desire only the oral stories of old Tibetans and Nepalis.

> Please look at these well-proportioned likenesses of the adepts, unaffected with doubt or hesitation.[20]

It is in the final verses of *The Golden Spoon* that Tsewang Norbu reveals the immense importance and spiritual power which he ascribes to images, stories, and songs of the Eighty-Four Adepts:

> This [work] eliminates the faults of addition and omission, and the errors of bad styles of drawing the images;
> Meditate upon the Indian stories.
> Influenced by the words of that supreme scholar of scholars,
> The intentions of Master Vīryaprabha have been clarified here.
>
> Whoever thinks of a drawing or sees a drawing of the bodies of
> These supreme and great masters, the adepts, will be joyous of mind.
> Just like these masters who have attained the supreme path toward great enlightenment,
> It is certain that you will transform completely into Vajradhara.
>
> What's more, with uninterrupted practice each and every day,
> Even if you killed a brahmin, by completely purifying the four fortitudes,
> If you practice all the antidotes and strive in this mantric [practice],
> Collections of obscuration will disappear and come to rest.
> By this you will attain the four acts, visions, and the eight achievements,
> You will achieve the supreme Great Seal, and so doing become a great adept.
>
> Therefore, because you are sure that these supreme and primordially aware
> Are the magic emanations of your root teacher,
> By exerting yourself in listening and making offerings to these drawings,
> You set good habits in store, and the fruits of virtue
> Will quickly be amassed. So, my mind delights in this,
> The astute should practice in this.[21]

As we shall soon see, according to the liturgical manuals of Kongtrul, merely reciting the names of the adepts was sure to produce great results, and making offerings was guaranteed to aid in the aspirant's quest for spiritual progress. In an analogous fashion, Tsewang Norbu informs us that beholding an image of the adepts, or simply thinking about such an image, will eventually lead one to become the primordial adept, Vajradhara. Here we also see a merging of hagiographic and ritual functions of the adepts that will be more fully present in liturgical manuals; not only does the performer of the liturgy call to the adepts for aid and blessings, the very thing in which one asks for aid is the quest to become just like the adepts themselves. As in liturgical manuals,

Tsewang Norbu explicitly identifies the adepts with the master of the aspirant, such that all praises and requests to the adepts are no more and no less an homage to one's living teacher, who embodies in a very tangible sense all the enlightened qualities heralded in the tales of the adepts of old. In Tsewang Norbu's exhortations we see art, hagiography, and guru devotion all merging into a spiritual practice fueled by the imaginative images of Saraha and the other adepts.

Dreams of Saraha

Drawing inspiration from both hagiographic and iconographic works, accounts of dreams and visions portray Saraha as an eternally living symbol of absolute reality. In dreams one is actually able to visit Saraha, to commune with him, to learn at his feet, and to experience a taste of such reality.[22] The liturgies we will now look at more closely were not the only means to call to the Eighty-Four Adepts, and the ritual circle was not the only place one could meet these spiritual masters. It was also possible to meet and receive teachings from the adepts in dreams or in pure visions. It was in dreams that one could most easily meet one's favored adept, often by traveling to the spiritual realm where they dwell unendingly. In Saraha's case, the classic encounter is between him and the Tibetan translator Marpa Chokyi Lodro (1012–1097), as told by his biographer, Tsangnyon Heruka Sangye Gyaltsen, at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[23]

The eternal presence of Saraha was a concrete phenomenon for the second hierarch of the Karma Kagyu school, Karma Pakshi (1204–1283), who in his autobiography relates visions of Saraha and all the other Eighty-Four Adepts.[24] He rejoices at having received their blessings as they wove magical illusions and danced throughout the Mongolian lands and the regions north of Tibet. His encounter, which he described in visionary autobiographical verse in the middle of the thirteenth century, is incidentally one of the earliest datable mentions of the Eighty-Four Adepts in an indigenous Tibetan work.

A more detailed encounter is beautifully related in the opening pages of a collection of songs by the third Karmapa hierarch, Rangjung Dorje (1284–1339),[25] in which, much like his spiritual ancestor Marpa the Translator, Rangjung Dorje meets Saraha in a dream:

> When [I,] the yogi Rangjung Dorje was staying at Tashi Sarma, in a dream one night myself and two friends went to Śrī Parvata Mountain to search for the Great Brahmin, Master [Saraha]. My two friends went south of the mountain, and I [went] east. There signs arose on a panoramic and euphoric high plain, and an unfathomable rain of flowers fell. We then arranged a border [with the flowers] and when we were sitting equiposed within their ring a small melodious voice sounded from the sky:

Listen you noble sons,
The master, the Great Brahmin
is mind itself,
And to search elsewhere is, alas, a mistake!

As that was proclaimed, so this did I speak:

The Master, the Great Brahmin,
Is our own minds,
And in this circle where manifold [experiences are of] a single taste,
Free of what searches and what is searched for,
My two friends are done with searching;
We stay together as one.
Rejoice. The symbolic teachings of the Great Brahmin
Are indeed wondrous.

Because I so spoke, the voice of the Great Brahmin resounded from the sky. . . . [Saraha sang his song, and] the border [of flowers] which we arranged, all the earth, stones, and animals transformed into the nature of the Great Brahmin, and remained. And when the meaning of what is real, free of becoming, cessation and abiding, uninterrupted and impartial, continuous and overflowing, was in our minds, there was no difference between waking and sleeping. From this joyous experience, I remembered it just so, and sang the following:

The Mentor is the Great Brahmin,
The mind is without becoming and cessation.
The many teachings are of one taste.
All appearances are examples [of this truth],
Devoid of samsara and nirvana. Rejoice!

This instruction is a teaching to those great meditators
Who have taken to the mountains.
It must be put into practice.
May the blessings of the masters come alive in this song.[26]

Rangjung Dorje trades song with Saraha, using verses also elicited by Karma Pakshi in his autobiography,[27] and at the close of the episode incorporates the dream into a call to meditative practice directed toward his students. Here Rangjung Dorje meets Saraha after a fashion, although he does not actually see him. In Rangjung Dorje's dream Saraha comes to his Tibetan disciples in the form of a disembodied voice resounding from the sky. As a messenger from the enlightened state, Saraha disintegrates his own identity as saint, and in a final equation of microcosm and macrocosm, unifies himself, the world of Rangjung Dorje's dream, and the minds of his disciples in the Great Seal of enlightenment.

Saraha in Liturgical Manuals

In the liturgical writings dedicated to gaining the blessings of the Eighty-Four Adepts all of the styles of literature that we have looked at in this and the previous chapter come together. Such manuals are where we see the closest connection between hagiography, poetry, ritual, and religious imagination. In the rituals described in these liturgies, the adepts come alive out of their stories. We are told that "the adepts manifest in the ritual circle as they do in the tales of old."[28] As with reading the hagiographic tales of the adepts, or contemplating their iconography, the goal of praying to the adepts by means of a complex ritual is the realization of the ultimate truth by the aspirant. Unlike the hagiographies, where the adepts work as exemplars for spiritual emulation, in these liturgies the focus is on petitioning the adepts to aid the performer of the ritual in this quest.

The earliest liturgical work devoted to the adepts is probably the canonical collection of petitionary prayers attributed to Vajrāsana, *Homages to the Eighty-Four Adepts,* where we find a single verse of homage to each adept. The following verse is dedicated to Saraha:[29]

> Of Brahmin caste, with the body of a dancer,
> He found spiritual success on Śrī Parvata Mountain.
> To the Master Saraha
> I pay homage.

The details of this verse of praise bear little relation to any elements in either the radish girl narrative or the fletcheress narrative, in which he neither acts as a dancer nor finds liberation on Śrī Parvata Mountain. It is thus evident that even at the earliest stages of this tradition Saraha lives in a state of variegation. Tāranātha casts doubt on the authority of this work, however, for he considers Vajrāsana's *Homages to the Eighty-Four Adepts* to be an apocryphal work. In a classic Tibetan polemic move, he suggests that this work was in fact written by a Nepalese forger, thus negating its authenticity as an Indian work, as a scripture from the birthplace of Buddhism.[30]

The earliest indigenous Tibetan liturgies to the Eighty-Four Adepts are no more than lists of names. The earliest datable work of this type is the list of names by Buton Rinchendrup (1290–1364). Despite its title, this Sanskrit list in Tibetan transliteration actually contains only seventy-five names, and in a somewhat different order than that of the *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts*.[31] If this list was representative of a narrative collection as well, then we now have no other record of it. Another list, in the Newārī language, is found on the beautiful painting of Vajradhara and the Eighty-Four Adepts commissioned by Śaktirāja Siṃha of Kathmandu in 1513.[32] The practice of listing the names of the adepts ran late into Tibetan literary history, as is shown by the list of seventy-two masters (with Saraha as the eleventh) compiled by Longdol Lama Ngawang Lobsang (1719–1794).[33]

More elaborate liturgies are to be found in two nineteenth-century collections, the *Treasury of Instructions* and Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo's (1820–1892) *Collected Sādhanas*,[34] where we find together six lengthy manuals dedicated to gaining the favor of the Eighty-Four Adepts through ritual propitiation. All of these works trace themselves back to Tāranātha, who appears to have revitalized the tradition by codifying the rituals surrounding the adepts. The richest of these manuals, a coordinated pair entitled *Stream of Attainment*, and *Source of Attainment*, were authored—or more likely compiled from earlier sources—by Karma Ngawang Yontan Gyatso, more popularly known as Kongtrul Lodro Thaye,[35] at Dzongsar Tashi Lhatse Monastery in Eastern Tibet, one of the principal seats of the Nonsectarian movement of the nineteenth century.[36] A third liturgical work preserved by Kongtrul in the *Treasury of Instructions*, entitled *Whirling Drop of Attainment—The Indian System of Guru Yoga upon Which the Highest Attainment Is Based*, is said to descend from the oral instructions of Śantigupta, the teacher of Tāranātha's Indian master, Buddhaguptanātha. The interesting lineage contained in this liturgy consists of twenty-two adepts, beginning with Saraha and ending with Buddhaguptanātha himself, suggesting that he brought tales of Saraha with him to Tibet at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[37]

Kongtrul's *Stream of Attainment* is in fact far more than a manual for the performance of a ritual. It contains a list of ritual accessories, a history of the practice in Tibet, an account of the early history of the songs of the adepts, iconographic prescriptions, and songs of the adepts from the *Precious Garland* anthology. Kongtrul characterizes these ritual teachings as an "oral tradition descending from Master Vīryaprabha."[38] In the introductory passage he tells us:

> After the perfect Buddha passed from suffering, and the three councils famous among the Śravakas were complete, contemporaneous with the beginning of the spread of Mahāyana literature, the Great Brahmin, Master Saraha, came on the scene. Later, in the period following the six-door scholars, the teachers who had attained spiritual achievements by relying on the great yogic path of the Diamond Way came together into a single gathering for a tantric feast.
>
> In Tibet there were many traditions of [these masters'] tales which are of dubious origin and are unreliable. Nevertheless, because the system of the scholar Vīryaprabha was well known in India before, it is authoritative. The emanation of the great adept Kṛṣṇācārya, Kunga Drolchok and his reincarnation, the Omniscient Tāranātha made [tales of the adepts] based upon their own memories of past lives as well upon as the reports of reliable Indian scholars and adepts. These claims are of reliable origin.[39]

In this passage Kongtrul tells us several things of note. First, as was the case for so many of his predecessors, Saraha stands as the preeminent adept, the original adept who flourished even before the full flowering of the tantric

Buddhism of the Vajrayāna. Second, he traces several currents through which these teachings passed into Tibet, the foremost being from Vīryaprabha. More intriguing is the claim that both Jonang Kunga Drolchok (1495/1507–1566) and Tāranātha are authoritative sources not only because they were historians of Indic lore—for which they were both certainly revered—but also because they were in fact incarnations of the very adepts whose blessings the liturgies are geared toward gaining. Thus Kongtrul emphasizes three ways in which these teachings were passed on: oral tradition, written accounts, and memory of past lives.

The *Stream of Attainment* also contains a fascinating tale of the origins of the dohās and life stories of the adepts, as well as the foundational act of pious devotion to the adepts. Kongtrul's retelling runs thus:

> I will explain a bit about the origin tale that is related to these [blessings]: In eastern India, in a particular region of Saurașța called Kantamara, there was a king named Kuñji who ruled his kingdom according to the dharma. One day his mother was ill and close to death. The king was concerned for his mother, so he said to her, "Mother, you have not long to live, so in order to benefit your next life, please command me to do what you desire, such as [work for] the community of teachers and disciples, brahmins, offerings at the temple, hand out donations, or whatever." The mother said, "Although my virtuous roots have no need of any further deeds, please invite the Eighty-Four Yogin Adepts, offer them a tantric feast, and procure [their] blessings for me." So saying, she died.
>
> At this the king thought, "These adepts of old cannot be seen nowadays by ordinary people, so how am I to invite them? And yet, if I disobey my mother's words, it would not be right. These adepts are compassionate souls, so I should beseech them." So thinking, he single-mindedly sent out a request, and then the ḍākinīs of primordial awareness, Kokali and Dharmaviśva, appeared to him directly and said, "We will fulfill your plea. You must build an assembly hall to which to invite the adepts." So he built at huge assembly hall. The two ḍākinīs instantly arrived with emanations to their respective seats, and invited the adepts.
>
> First Lūyipa arrived, and then each of the Eighty-Four Adepts instantly came in succession and sat in their places. The king set out copious provisions for the gathering, and [the adepts] held a tantric feast for a long time. The adepts were asked to stay for a long time as the king's source of offering, but they did not grant this request. Each adept sang a dohā diamond-song and went back alone to where he had been. Then the king created statues of each adept as representations of them, and he wrote the dohās of each on the front of them. He then made offerings to [these statues].
>
> At this time, far off in the east, a scholar named Vīryaprabha had heard that the Eighty-Four Adepts had come in person as the

> sources of offering for King Kuñji. Hearing this, he went running and took seven days to reach the adepts. With strong determination, he made a vow, stayed where he was, and beseeched the adepts. After seven days had passed, the two ḍākinīs appeared to him in person and taught the dohās, the *Ratnamāla*, and the tales that went with them. He took their meaning into his experience and thus acquired a distinctive realization and became a master among adepts.
>
> [Vīryaprabha] also created a book in which the various dohās were anthologized. He taught it to a scholar named Kamala. [Kamala] taught it to the adept Śabara Jamaripa, who taught it to the scholar from Maghada, Abhayadattaśrī. He composed a commentary on these dohās, and with the translator of Minyak, Mondrub Sherap in Tibet, he translated all of these [teachings], redacted them through explanation and listening, and caused them to spread. These dohās and life stories were determined to be original by all of the old knowledgeable scholars who compiled the Tanjur. They are indisputably reliable and appear in all the Tanjurs of central and southwestern Tibet.[40]

This origin tale reveals much about how Tibetan writers conceived of the development of the songs and life stories of the Eighty-Four Adepts. What is clear in this story, and in other accounts, which will be the focus of part II, is that the compilation of this literature was viewed as a communal affair and included a variety of people working at different times and places. The adepts may have sung their diamond-songs, but they were not responsible for putting them in writing; this task was left to their disciples after they had departed for other realms. The process of putting them into writing, moreover, occurred in several stages, first with the king inscribing the dohās in stone, then with the ḍākinīs teaching the songs to Vīryaprabha, and finally with Vīryaprabha anthologizing them on the basis of their teachings.

In fact this origin myth emphasises one of the arguments of this book, namely that it was the tradition that played a major role in the very formation of the songs of the adepts, and further that the adepts themselves should be seen as the primordial source of the tradition but not as authors in any modern sense of the term. If this reading of the myth is sound, it would appear that through this tale Kongtrul was developing a complex notion of the relation between singing, poetic composition, oral tradition, and writing, a notion quite at odds with the authorially centered claims of Indian scholars such as Rahul Sāṃkṛtyāyana and Surendranāth Das Gupta, who, writing barely half a century later, sought to provide strict chronologies for the adepts and their songs.

As we have seen, Kongtrul considers Saraha to be the seminal tantric adept, appearing just after the Buddhist councils, during the period of the Mahāyāna sūtras.[41] Nevertheless, Saraha does not appear first in the liturgy, but sixth in accordance with the order of the *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts*. It is in a companion work to the *Stream of Attainment* entitled *Source of Attain-*

ment that we find the actual liturgical verses. The verse of homage to Saraha reads as follows:[42]

> From Brahmin caste, he severed dualist thought,
> And ultimately realized the Great Seal—
> Saraha has attained the highest attainment.
> At the feet of this lord of yogins I bow down.

Liturgies such as the one in which this verse is contained are, according to Kongtrul, the preeminent means to harness the spiritual power of the adepts, to request them to work for oneself. And this power is great indeed: "If great deeds are done merely by their names, then by making offerings and prayers of homage to them, one is freed from the bonds of life and death, effortlessly achieves spiritual boons, and abandons the doubt."[43] It is through the power of a faithfully recited liturgy that the disciple meets the adepts in the ritual circle. Kongtrul tells the aspiring ritual performer to recite the following:

> Om! Omnipresent, essence of all things,
> Stationless, neither coming nor going, skylike,
> Free of any sign of movement or dwelling: Though you are so,
> Glorious Heruka of Great Bliss,
>
> Eighty-four male and female Yogin Lords,
> Surrounded by masters and patron gods,
> In faith I pray to you here and now:
> With your undifferentiated compassion, appear right here.
>
> Supreme beings with the eyes of nondual primordial awareness,
> Though you neither come nor go from the Body of Dharma,
> With the magic appearance of the loving Body of Enjoyment,
> I beseech you to come to this field of faithful offering.[44]

But it is not merely through their own will and power that the adepts appear; their presence requires the active participation of the aspirant, who must use his or her imagination to bring the adepts to life in the ritual circle. As Kongtrul instructs, "Imagine them gathering, arriving like a bank of clouds, and sitting in their respective places."[45] This imagining, furthermore, is explicitly linked to the tales themselves, for they provide the creative vision by which the aspirant calls the adepts from their heavenly abodes, and by which he or she imagines them into reality: "Master Vajradhara and the host of Eighty-Four Adepts come instantly from the supreme spiritual plane of the sky-going [ḍākinīs], and are actually perceived in the ritual circle just as in the tales of old."[46]

It is in the liturgy as well that the songs of the adepts come to life in the voices of the aspirants, for they are indeed meant to be sung or recited by the performer of the ritual.[47] For Kongtrul, such imagination-powered petitions to the adepts are beneficial at all stages of religious life; even those more advanced

should continue to ask ritually for blessings. Though one has already received the blessings of the adepts, has cultivated the aspiration toward enlightenment, heard many teachings and taken up tantric practice, through the continued involvement in the liturgy one will—Kongtrul assures—gain the clarity needed to reach the state of the adepts, to realize the Great Seal of truth.

3

Contesting the Great Brahmin

Saraha as Abbot and Adept

Until yesterday I was not a monk,
From today onward I am a monk. —Saraha

Saraha was praised in various sorts of Tibetan literature as a source or integral part of several specific teaching lineages, most prominently the Great Seal teachings so popular among the Kagyupa schools, as was seen in the first two chapters. As a lineage holder and authorizer of tradition, the figure of Saraha was put to good polemical use, and it was often necessary—in contrast to the syncretic tendencies of more purely inspirational hagiographic accounts—that his life story be transformed to meet the sectarian needs of its retellers. The Great Brahmin is thus also found—somewhat incongruously, given the tenor of the hagiographic tales presented so far—in a lineage of monastic ordination extending from India to Tibet.

This monastic vision of Saraha occurs in *A History of the Development of the Three Ordination Lineages,*[1] a work authored by the Sakyapa writer Drakpa Dorje Palzangpo (b. 1444)—or Drakpa Dorje for short.[2] The *Three Ordination Lineages* details the lineage of ordinational succession passing to Tibet through the Kashmirian Buddhist scholar Śākyaśrībhadra, who traveled to Tibet in 1204. This is an important work in its own right for the history of ordination lines in Tibet, and seemingly almost by chance it contains one of the most curious and detailed accounts of Saraha. The reason for this inclusion is that, for Drakpa Dorje, Saraha is to be identified with Rāhulabhadra, a member of one of the lineages—the celibate lineages—of monastic ordination brought from India to Tibet. But perhaps this identification was more trouble than it was worth, for it became

necessary for Drakpa Dorje to alleviate any contradiction between Saraha's life under the name Rāhulabhadra as a celibate abbot, and under the name Saraha as a lay tantric practitioner of ritual sexual activity. I will present Drakpa Dorje's points in full and compare his remarks regarding Saraha with those of several other Tibetan historians and hagiographers.

The introduction to the *Three Ordination Lineages* reveals the scope of his work, which is nothing less than a survey of the three major traditions of ordination known to Tibet:

> In this Glacial Land [of Tibet] the three ordination lineages that have appeared [are]: the ordination lineage of the great scholar Śāntarakṣita, that of the eastern scholar Dharmapāla, and that of the Kashmirian mendicant Śākyaśrībhadra.[3]. Śāntarakṣita's abbatial sons [were] the Seven Probationers. Dharmapāla's disciples [were] Guṇapāla, Prajñāpāla, and Sādhupāla, and from those three, Prajñāpāla's disciples [were] Zhangzhung Gyaway Sherap and others. [These] are the ordination lineages of the Western Vinaya.[4] Even today they continue unbroken. The succession of the third ordination lineage, that of the great Kashmirian scholar [Śākyaśrībhadra], [is as follows].[5]

Drakpa Dorje then summarizes the Indian lineage preceding Śākyaśrī as follows: (1) Śākyamuni; (2) Śāriputra; (3) Rāhula; (4) Rāhula the Brahmin; (5) Nāgārjuna; (6) Guṇamati; (7) Ratnamitra; (8) Dharmapāla; (9) Guṇamati; (10) Dharmamāla; (11) Śantākaragupta; (12) Śākyaśrībhadra.[6] Following stories of these Indian masters, this Tibetan historian presents a wealth of information on many key figures in Tibet from the thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth century, with special attention to the dates and places where people were ordained. This proliferation of biographical and historical detail is intimately bound up with his efforts to legitimize the ordination lineage of which he was a member by providing sound historical evidence of the unbroken and morally upstanding nature of the line.

At one point in the course of this effort, Drakpa Dorje is led—by what is most likely a conflation of two Indian Buddhist figures—to include Saraha, a typically tantric adept and singer of spiritual songs, within his lineage, identified with Rāhulabhadra, a relatively minor Buddhist master who is known to modern scholarship primarily as the author of the *Prajñāpāramitāstotra*. The two names are said to refer to the same person at different stages of life, Rāhulabhadra being his monastic name, and Saraha being his name as a tantric practitioner. Drakpa Dorje devotes two and a half folios out of twenty-five to Saraha, in a text where upwards of a hundred people are mentioned.

For Drakpa Dorje the problem is this: If Saraha were a monk first and only then a tantric practitioner, as is the case in the standard fletcheress narrative, this would mean that he had broken his monastic vows, thus making him unsuitable to stand in the lineage. Drakpa Dorje solves this problem by inverting the chronology of these two events in Saraha's narrative, supporting this inversion with a verse said to be spoken by Saraha on the eve of his meeting

with the fletcher. Contrary to the more common sequence of the fletcheress narrative, Drakpa Dorje would have Saraha embark on the monastic life only after his tantric practice, thereby leaving Saraha above suspicion of sexual misconduct for the rest of his career as an abbot. The problem of Saraha engaging in sexual practices during his tenure as a monk—and as Nāgārjuna's ordinating abbot—is solved chronologically. Rhetorically, what Drakpa Dorje has done to achieve this solution is to interpret the verse he cites in a straightforward, literal manner. However, as was seen earlier in both Drigung Kunga Rinchen's and Tsuklak Trengwa's stories, this verse is usually taken as an ironic statement which actually extols the supreme virtues of Saraha's tantric practice and realization. In this way Saraha plays yet another role as lineage holder and ordinating abbot, with some creative drift transforming who and what he is. Let us look at Drakpa Dorje's treatment of Saraha in more detail.

It is not yet clear when the identification of Saraha with Rāhula was first made, or whether it is of Indian or Tibetan origin. The Tibetan sources presently known that include the two names in one hagiography are rather late, the majority of them dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Abhayadatta's *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts* makes no mention of the name Rāhulabhadra in connection with Saraha, but this omission does not exclude the possibility that the two names referred to the same figure during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for other authors. At any rate, in the fifteenth century Drakpa Dorje felt compelled to identify the two figures, as well as defend this identity, against possible objections. Though hagiography and literary history were certainly not separate for this Tibetan author, it will be seen that for him the authenticity of Saraha's works as well as their transmission to Tibet were controversial issues which demanded the examination of both historical and textual detail, and were on a rhetorical level distinct from the tales of his early monastic life.

Drakpa Dorje's rich and detailed explorations into the figure of Saraha can be divided into four sections. First he begins his discussion of Rāhulabhadra with a brief summary of his life, stating at the end that the two names refer to the same person. Second, he takes issue with the then current translation of Saraha's name into Tibetan, offering a translation of his own. Third, he offers support for the authenticity and authorship of the main works of Saraha and Rāhulabhadra, taking others to task for unfounded speculation regarding Saraha's *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, and correcting several misnomers about Rāhulabhadra's *Encomium to the Perfection of Wisdom* (*Prajñāpāramitāstotra*). This lengthy third section will be discussed in chapter 4, which looks more closely at the literary history of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. Finally, he defends Saraha's monastic and moral status against objections regarding his tantric practice in an effort to legitimize his place in an ordination lineage that holds celibacy as a cardinal virtue.

First let us look at Drakpa Dorje's comments on the possibilities of translating Saraha's name into Tibetan. This passage is really more of an aside to his main arguments regarding the Great Brahmin's identity, or his monastic and moral status, but it does show that controversies about Saraha hagiography

and iconography reached even into the very fundamental problem of what to call him in Tibet. As we have seen, it was during his apprenticeship to the fletcheress that the Great Brahmin received the name Saraha. The radish girl narrative of *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts* gives no reason for his name. "Saraha" is usually understood by Tibetan commentators as meaning "He who shot the arrow" (*Mda' bsnun*). The symbolic and poetic potential of this understanding of the name is employed by Karma Trinlaypa in a verse of homage presented here in chapter 2. It occurs at the beginning of his commentary on Saraha's *Treasury of Dohā Verses*:

> Into the heart of dualistic thought
> You shoot the arrow—primordial awareness
>   for which subject and object are inseparable,
> And release [living beings] into a realm
>   where samsara and nirvana are equal.
> To you, the illustrious arrowsmith Saraha I bow down.[7]

Drakpa Dorje disagreed with this generally accepted Tibetan translation, and in the following section he gives his reasons:

> As a spiritual adept his name became Saraha, which in Tibetan is Arrow Handler [*Mda' 'dzin*]. Some translate this as Arrow Shooter [*Mda' bsnun*]: This does not accord with the context because: [1] This [Saraha] made a living for the most part as a straightener of arrows and did not previously make a living as an archer. [2] One who did engage in such a livelihood, a student of both this [Saraha] and his student Nāgārjuna, was known as Śavaripa, or Saraha the Younger, and in his case the translation Arrow Shooter [*Mda' bsnun*] is reasonable. [3] The great religious lord Sakya Paṇḍita has stated,
>
> > To you, a perfect Buddha in actuality,
> > Who brought teachings deep into your mind,
> > Who made a livelihood handling arrows,
> > I perpetually bow down and pray.[8]
>
> Therefore, since it is settled that *sara* is *mda'* [arrow], *graha* is *'dzin pa* [to handle, handling], and *hana* is *bsnun pa* [to shoot, shooting], [these different translations] should be employed respectively to the Elder and Younger Sarahas.[9]

Sakya Paṇḍita's usage in his *Homage to the Cakrasamvara Lineage* aside—it is not, after all, used as a proper noun in the cited verse—this translation of the name Saraha is as yet unique to Drakpa Dorje, who apparently was a stickler for what we might term hagiographic accuracy and who perhaps wanted to avoid further confusion between the elder and younger Sarahas.

As we have seen, at the beginning of his work Drakpa Dorje briefly mentions the three lineages of ordination that had entered Tibet through Indian

masters, the third of which was the lineage of Śākyaśrībhadra. He then describes in detail the lineage running through Śākyaśrī, beginning with Śākyamuni Buddha. Rāhulabhadra stands toward the beginning of Śākyaśrī's lineage as the student of Śākyamuni's son Rāhula, and as the teacher of Nāgārjuna. He is said to have been born a brahmin in the country of Raḍa among four brothers. The full passage reads:

> As for the Brahmin Rāhulabhadra: In the country of Rāḍa, he was the most worthy among four brahmin brothers. Under the noble Rāhula he took his initial vows, completed full ordination, and was also given the name-in-religion Rāhulabhadra. He became an erudite scholar, acted as abbot of the illustrious Nālanda, and worked at-large on behalf of the teachings of the Victorious [Buddha].
>
> He was initiated and instructed by the southern king Visukalpa, who had attained the supreme spiritual achievements by relying on the teachings of Indrabhuti's student, a female yoginī of the Nāgas. As was prophesied by [Visukalpa], he became the servant of a fletcheress, and relying on the symbolism of straightening the reed cut from grass tips, he attained Great Seal, the supreme spiritual achievement. He thereupon sang dohās, diamond-songs, and so forth.[10]

In line with the main theme of *A History of the Three Ordination Lineages*, Drakpa Dorje focuses his account of Saraha on the crucial moments of the narrative dealing with his monastic ordination. Gone are the magical battles between Saraha and the uptight brahmins, gone are the four ḍākinīs tempting Saraha to become drunk on the mead of enlightenment. Drakpa Dorje continues, stating that Rāhulabhadra took his initial vows and completed full ordination under the Buddha's son Rāhula and at that point received his monastic name, Rāhulabhadra. He went on to become an abbot at Nālanda and subsequently became the servant and disciple of a female fletcher, an arrowmaker, at which point he received the name Saraha. This sequence of events is not absolute, however, for as we shall see, Drakpa Dorje makes creative use out of the chronology of this part of the hagiography.

The final topics that Drakpa Dorje addresses are Saraha/Rāhulabhadra's monastic and moral status. This issue is necessitated by Saraha's dual life as the ordinating abbot of Nāgārjuna—a position that calls for celibacy—and as a lay tantric practitioner, which presumably involved ritual sexual activity. Drakpa Dorje first takes up the question of the chronology of Saraha's life by raising a possible objection and then refuting it with a verse said to be spoken by Saraha on the eve of his meeting with the fletcher. He states:

> [Objection:] If Rāhulabhadra and Saraha are one and the same, did he act as the ordinating abbot for Nāgārjuna before or after entering into [tantric] practice?
>
> [Reply:] Masters, speaking in favor of the latter, claim that [Sar-

> aha] took up the saffron victory banner [of monk's robes] after engaging in [tantric] practice and taking the fletcher woman as a consort, at which point he stated:
>
> Until yesterday I was not a monk,
> From today onward I am a monk.
>
> He is said to have then acted as the ordinating abbot for Nāgārjuna.[11]

In other words, contrary to common Tibetan hagiographic opinion, Drakpa Dorje would have Saraha embark on the monastic life only after his tantric practice, thereby leaving Saraha above suspicion of erotic encounter for the rest of his career as abbot. Thus the problem of Saraha engaging in sexual practices during his tenure as a monk and as Nāgārjuna's ordinating abbot is solved chronologically.

Rhetorically, what Drakpa Dorje has done is interpret the verse he cites in a straightforward, literal manner. However, this verse and variations of it are taken by Karma Trinlaypa and Tsuklak Trengwa as ironic statements which actually extol the supreme virtues of Saraha's tantric discipleship under the fletcher. According to Karma Trinlaypa, Saraha spoke such a verse upon meeting the fletcher and staying with her in meditation and yogic practice, just before the two of them traveled to the charnel grounds to participate in a tantric feast.[12] According to Tsuklak Trengwa, the Great Brahmin spoke a lengthier set of verses which include the preceding lines just after receiving Great Seal teachings from the deity Hayagīva and just before meeting and staying with the fletcher, during which time his body is said to have been intoxicated with liquor, his speech with diamond-songs, and his mind with primordial awareness.[13] It would have been difficult for Drakpa Dorje to accommodate such an ironic reading, and it is here that we see most clearly the hagiographic portrait of Saraha fashioned in such a way that he fits comfortably within the ordination lineage. The commonly accepted chronology Drakpa Dorje presented earlier, in which Saraha is said to have first ordained Nāgārjuna, then been an abbot at Nālanda, and thereupon entered into discipleship under the fletcheress, is here reversed. Finally, the phrasing of the objection itself is noteworthy, for it suggests that there were indeed those who did *not* want to identify Rāhulabhadra and Saraha, perhaps for precisely those troublesome aspects of Saraha's life that Drakpa Dorje was seeking to defend.

The controversy over Saraha as one of the key members of an ordination lineage was not completely resolved by this narrative rearrangement, and at this point Drakpa Dorje addresses the question of Saraha's moral status. The problem Drakpa Dorje raises is whether Saraha committed the first of the four fundamental moral transgressions—breaking one's vow of celibacy—when he engaged in tantric sexual practice with the fletcheress. Drakpa Dorje counters this problem through the two traditional means, scriptural citation and logical argumentation. The first part of his argument is as follows:

> It may be asked, "When he took the fletcher woman as a consort, did the first moral transgression not arise?" This does not follow from scripture or reasoning: In the scripture, *Āgamakṣudrakavyākhāna*,[14] it is said that Ajātaśatru had slain his own father, Bimbisāra. He became regretful and was tormented with misery. He remained in a stupor in which he would not eat, and he contemplated dying. Then several astute ministers took prisoner a divinely beautiful and enticing arhatī named *Kapilabhadhrī, who was liberated in terms of each perfection. Thereupon, though Ajātaśatru had sexual relations with her, no moral transgression was incurred [by Ser skya bzang mo].[15]

Drakpa Dorje then moves on to proof by reason, this time arguing that because enlightened beings such as Saraha have realized that the samsaric world lacks substance in the same way that things do in dreams, they are not bound by the moral conventions restricting the actions of ordinary Buddhists. Here Drakpa Dorje cites a fundamental work on the relation between monastic celibacy and tantric sexual practice: Atiśa's *Lamp for the Path*. The passage he cites occurs in the final section of Atiśa's work, where he advises that monks should receive only the first of the four tantric consecrations, which does not require them to break their vow of celibacy. Drakpa Dorje continues:

> Also, in the *Vinayasūtra*[16] it is stated: "A dream is just like something nonexistent: its result is ineffectual." And in the *Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment*[17] it is stated: "There is no fault in [the yogin's] awareness of reality." [That Saraha incurred no moral transgression] is established through reasoning as well: A moral transgression occurring in this manner for a noble one [on the] Great Way is in no way possible, because [such a person] has realized all phenomena to be in actuality akin to dreams. Accordingly, for example, even though one [such as Saraha] has sexual relations with a girl in a dream, no moral transgression is incurred. It is also impossible for a moral transgression to arise for a [noble one] because this one has totally abandoned activity and afflictive emotions.[18]

Drakpa Dorje then returns to Atiśa's *Lamp for the Path* in order to face squarely one of the most controversial points of the argument that centers on the relationship between monasticism and tantric practice: the level of tantric empowerment and practice to which the monk should be entitled while still maintaining his vow of celibacy.[19]

> Objection: In the *Lamp for the Path*[20] it states:
>
>> Because the Great Tantra of the Primordial Buddha [i.e., the Kālacakra]
>> Emphatically forbids it,
>> The secret and the insight consecrations
>> Should not be accepted by those who are celibate.

> [So,] when a monk accepts the third consecration as an actual empowerment, he contradicts the statement that a moral transgression will occur. [Reply:] This is incorrect, for while such a statement in general circumstances is made for ordinary beings, in certain situations it is clearly stated: "There is no fault in [the yogin's] awareness of reality.'[21]

In summary, several points within Drakpa Dorje's work are both unique and important for the study of Saraha's place in Tibetan Buddhist literary history: First, while other Tibetan historians associate the names Rāhulabhadra and Saraha, Drakpa Dorje is the only one so far known to have done so in the context of a monastic ordination lineage. Second, his account of the sequence of events in Saraha's life, in which Saraha is first a tantric practitioner and only subsequently a monk and an abbot, is unique. Finally, it is interesting to note that while the two names, Saraha and Rāhulabhadra, are identified in terms of his importance for Drakpa Dorje's ordination lineage, for all practical purposes they are separate in literary terms. Not once is the name Rāhulabhadra used in the discussion of the dohās, and likewise the name Saraha is not used with regard to the *Prajñāpāramitāstotra*, Further, in each of the two discussions different sets of scripture are used as background and support: dohā literature in general in Saraha's case, and *Prajñāpāramitā* and *Madhyamaka* literature in Rāhulabhadra's case. This suggests that the identification of the two names was not a blanket statement which dictated how all aspects of what Drakpa Dorje considered to be important about this figure had to be conceived. It is clear that for Drakpa Dorje the name Rāhulabhadra held no place in a discussion of the transmission of Saraha's works to Tibet, nor did it for Karma Trinlaypa or Go Lotsawa. Nevertheless, in the context of the ordination lineage, the identification was important enough for Drakpa Dorje to stand by it and defend Saraha's right to be placed in that lineage, though with what success he met we do not know.

We can note one further example of the revisionist effort in the hagiographies of Saraha, this one occurring in the revised version of the *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts* by Jamgon Amyeshap. In the midst of Saraha's tale, which is otherwise quite faithful to Abhayadatta's version, he omits one very important detail: the teaching of the *Dohā Trilogy* to the king, queen, and subjects of his city. This might seem an innocuous omission were it not for the fact that the authenticity of the *Dohā Trilogy* was one of the most hotly debated problems in traditional discussions of his works. It is therefore possible that this omission reflects Amyeshap's opinion that the *Dohā Trilogy* was not an authentic grouping of Saraha's teachings. More broadly, it appears that the main exponents of the authenticity of all three works were Kagyupas, and that Sakyapas tended to fall on the side of conservatism and discount the *King* and the *Queen Dohās*. This and other problems regarding the transmission of Saraha's songs in Tibet will be the subject of part II.

PART II

Traditions of Saraha's Songs in Tibet

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4

Bringing the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* to Tibet

The transmission of this teaching to the country of Tibet is due to the kindness of Vajrapāṇi the Indian alone.

—Karma Trinlaypa

Throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* was transmitted from India to Tibet no less than seventeen times, whether through Tibetan translation or Sanskrit manuscript, through oral teachings or commentarial literature, where it was ensconced entirely or in part. If this number tells us anything, it is that Saraha's teachings were extremely popular among literate Buddhist yogins and scholars in India, Nepal, and Tibet. It also points to the highly decentralized nature of the New Translation period (*gsar 'gyur*), in which similar teachings were integrated into Tibetan religious life at various times and places, often with very different results. It was left to the redactors of the Buddhist canons in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to sift through the plethora of competing versions of any one teaching and begin to establish standard editions.[1] We will look at seventeen instances of the transmission of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* and will see that, despite the praises of Karma Trinlaypa, the life of this work in Tibet was due to more than the single-handed efforts of Vajrapāṇi.

The most important single source for the history of this movement of people, ideas, practices, and texts is certainly the introduction to Karma Trinlaypa's commentary on the *People Dohā*. It appears that Karma Trinlaypa was genuinely interested in the early development of the dohā literature in Tibet from a historical perspective, which stretches beyond the bounds of his lineage of initiation, exegesis, and practice; he takes pains to provide information

even on traditions that had died out or that had never really acquired a foothold on Tibetan soil. With his research as a foundation, and with the help of several other early sources, we can gain a good perspective on the re-creation of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* throughout its first two centuries in Tibet.

Another rich source for the history of the dohās, and of Mahāmudra teachings more broadly, is the great *Blue Annals*.[2] Go Lotsawa had a special affinity with Great Seal thought, and with Saraha's teachings in particular, and the chapter on Mahāmudra is in the main devoted to the transmission of Saraha's teachings. It is no wonder, then, that at the outset Go Lotsawa evokes the words of Gotsangpa: "The great Brahmin Saraha was the first to introduce the Great Seal as the supreme path."[3] We know now from his recently recovered biography composed by Chokyi Drakpa (1517) that Go Lotsawa wrote commentaries to the *King* and *Queen Dohās* at the request of one Lopon Monlam Drakpa in 1480.[4] Despite the late date of the *Blue Annals*, which was completed in 1478, the work is in fact an anthology of older biographical sources, rather than strictly a late fifteenth-century work. As we shall see in the case of Go Lotsawa's treatment of Vairocanarakṣita's career, the historian used a much older source for his discussion of this early master's religious career, incorporating entire sections of his biography word-for-word. There is no reason to doubt that he made similar use of old accounts throughout the chapter on Mahāmudra.

According to Go Lotsawa, the transmission of Great Seal teachings from India and Nepal over the Himalayas took place during three distinct periods: an early period, which included Nirūpa; an intermediate period, and a late period, stemming from Nakpo Sherday. The intermediate period, in turn, was divided into the Upper Translation (*Stod 'gyur*), which came directly from Vajrapāṇi, and the Lower Translation (*Smad 'gyur*), which originated with the Nepalese master Balpo Asu. This fourfold periodization, Go Lotsawa tells us, was developed by members of the Upper Mahāmudra school. Go Lotsawa appears to give us a specific source for this historical scheme: a work by one Minyak Sherap Zangpo of the Upper Mahāmudra school. This work he obtained from Minyak's disciple, Rimibabpa Sonam Rinchen, and thus we may assume that the notion of four distinct moments in the development of Mahāmudra—Vajrapāṇi's Mahāmudra, at any rate—was in currency at least from the beginning of the fifteenth century, when Go Lotsawa's grand-teacher would have flourished.[5]

Go Lotsawa also gives us a somewhat expanded version of this scheme, which includes, in roughly chronological order, Atiśa, Marpa, Vairocanarakṣita, Kor Nirūpa, the Upper and Lower translations, Rechungpa, and Nakpo Sherday. All of these figures were involved in the transmission of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, and I will build on both Go Lotsawa's and Karma Trinlaypa's accounts to present the scholars and teachers responsible for the re-creation of Saraha's work in Tibet.[6] For several of these men of religion we have fairly detailed biographical accounts—for some, none at all. It is certain, moreover, that new information will come to light about these figures' activities, and that new dohā transmission lines will emerge as further sources on the renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet during the eleventh and twelfth centuries become avail-

able. For quick reference, here is a list of figures who will be discussed in the following pages:

1. Atiśa (982–1054) and Dromton (1004–1064).
2. Atiśa and Naktsho Tsultrim Gyatso (b. 1011).
3. Atiśa and Bari Lotsawa Rinchendrak (1040–circa 1110).
4. Marpa Chokyi Lodro (1012–1092).
5. Vajrapāṇi (b. 1017).
6. Balpo Asu, alias Kyemay Dechen (eleventh century).
7. Ngari Jotan (eleventh/twelfth centuries).
8. Nakpo Sherday (eleventh/twelfth centuries).
9. Maban Chobar (1044–1089).
10. Dampa Kor Nirūpa, alias Prajñāśrījñānakīrti (1062–1102).
11. Rechungpa Dorjedrak (1083–1161).
12. Phadampa Sangye (d.1117).
13. Vairocanarakṣita, alias Vairocanavajra (c. eleventh/twelfth centuries).
14. Tengpa Lotsawa Tsultrim Jungnay (1107–1190).
15. *Jinadeva and Gya Lotsawa (c. twelfth/thirteenth centuries).
16. Jodan (thirteenth century).
17. The Sakya Manuscript of Rahul Sāṃkṛtyāyana (date unknown).

Atiśa and His Students

Atiśa is, to the best of our present knowledge, the first person to bring Saraha's *Treasury of Dohā Verses* to Tibet. He was, as we shall see, rebuffed in his efforts by his student Dromton, and a lineage of dohā teaching and practice was never to develop during his time in Tibet. His involvement with dohā literature, and poetic spiritual songs in general, seems to have been great. He is credited with a number of diamond-songs (*rdo rje'i glu*), as well as a commentary to his own song, in the Tanjur.[7] However, his teachings on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, as Karma Trinlaypa informs us, were cut short at the outset. He writes: "Jowoje [Atiśa] heard them from Maitripa, and when he arrived in Ngari, he began teaching dohās such as, "What use are butter lamps, What use offerings to gods?"[8] He explained them literally, and out of fear that ethical conduct practiced by the Tibetans would become debased, he was requested not to recite them. Therefore, though he was somewhat displeased, he is not known to have taught them henceforth."[9] Go Lotsawa claims that Atiśa received instruction on the dohās directly from Maitripa.[10] According to him, Atiśa left India in 1040, resided in Nepal through 1041, and reached Ngari in 1042. If this dating proves to be reliable, it would be the earliest datable transmission of Saraha's dohās in Tibet.

Problems with dohā teachings among the early Kadampa are related in other accounts of Atiśa's life and works in Tibet. Go Lotsawa tells us that Atiśa taught the dohās to his foremost Tibetan disciple, Dromton (1005–1064),[11] in Chimpu, the retreat center above Samye.[12] Dromton, however, felt compelled

to receive these teachings in secrecy, for fear of upsetting the conduct of other disciples gathered around Atiśa.[13] Similar accounts are found in the biography of Atiśa written by Chim Namkha Drakpa (1210–1276/1285), who tells us that when Atiśa was asked to speak on the Great Brahmin's teachings, Dromton told him to "keep his mouth shut."[14] This biography relates that Atiśa did indeed wish to teach the dohās but was discouraged from doing so by Geshe Tonpa. It was not merely the teaching of these works, however, but the initiations into the practices that were at issue. Namka Drakpa recounts Atiśa's words: "Even if [I] were to explain [these teachings], if there are not initiations for the vow of arcane mantra, for the dohās, diamond-songs, and *dhāraṇīs*, my coming to Tibet will have been meaningless."[15] The only mention of this collaboration between Atiśa and his student Naktso Tsultrim Gyatso[16] occurs in the *History of the Three Ordination Lineages* by Drakpa Dorje Palzangpo.[17] Though many translations by this pair are preserved in the Tibetan canonical collections, the *Treasury of Dohā Verse* is not among them. Naktso Tsultrim Gyatso did translate his master's diamond-song and autocommentary, however, as well as the commentary to his "practice song."[18]

More problematic, however, is Karma Trinlaypa's claim that Atiśa translated a commentary by Maitripa with the prolific translator from Kham, Bari Lotsawa Rinchendrak. According to him, "though there was a translation for Maitripa's commentary by Jowo [Atiśa] and Bari Lotsawa, a tradition of explanation [for it] does not exist."[19] Now, Go Lotsawa relates that Bari Lotsawa met Atiśa at Nyethang in 1054, at the age of fourteen.[20] But none of this is related in the early biography of Bari by the Sakyapa master Sonam Tsemo (1142–1182). Here the translator is said only to have received teachings descending from Atiśa, after which he spent nine years in India and Nepal, between the ages of thirty-four and forty-three, or between 1073 and 1080 if we accept 1040 as the year of his birth.[21] It is possible that Bari translated a commentary by Maitripa at a later date, based upon the teachings of Atiśa. At any rate, we now have no witness for this translation, and thus we have little reason to either accept or reject this interesting remark by Karma Trinlaypa.

Vajrapāṇi and His Students

Vajrapāṇi, otherwise known as the Indian Pāṇi (*Rgya gar phyag na*), is certainly the single most important person involved in bringing the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* to Tibet. One of Maitripa's Four Great Disciples, he is the translator of over two dozen works in the Tanjur and, according to Go Lotsawa, is of pivotal significance in the history of Mahāmudra practice and literature in Tibet. Indeed, the entire chapter devoted to Great Seal teachings in the *Blue Annals*[22] is no more and no less than a survey of Vajrapāṇi's efforts, as well as those of his disciples.[23]

According to several extracanonical sources, the version of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* that passed through his hands was to become the standard version during the formation of the Buddhist Canonical collections in the fourteenth

century. Because of his efforts, a large number of teaching traditions proliferated throughout Tibet and through the majority of the major religious schools in existence during the period of New Translations. Karma Trinlaypa praises his efforts in propagating Saraha's works: "The spread of this teaching in the country of Tibet is due to the kindness of the Indian Vajrapāṇi alone. He heard well the text together with instructions from Maitripa, and he integrated them into his heartfelt experience. He also displayed many signs [of being] an adept, and, fulfilling the prophecy that he would bring immeasurable benefit to the country of Tibet, he spread [*The Dohā Trilogy*] here."[24]

According to Go Lotsawa, the then sixty-year-old Vajrapāṇi traveled from Nepal to Tibet in 1066 and taught a host of tantric works, including the *Heart of Accomplishment* (*Sgrub snying*) collection of teachings, which included the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. On a subsequent visit, made at the invitation of Drok Josay, whom he had met previously at Yerang, or Pathan in the Kathmandu Valley. Vajrapāṇi stayed at a place called Chugo in Tsang, where he also gave teachings on the Great Seal. After a quarrel with Drok Josay over money, he returned from Tsang to Nepal. An indeterminate number of years in Nepal and Tibet passed before he returned to eastern India, where Nakpo Sherday (to be discussed later) was to meet him late in life. The bulk of Go Lotsawa's account of his religious activities consists of the eight signs of his spiritual accomplishment (*sgrub rtags brgyad*). Although Go Lotsawa does not mention a specific dohā lineage dating to Vajrapāṇi's time in Tibet during the later half of the 1060s, linking the Indian tradition of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* directly with Tibetan scholars, we can surmise that Saraha's works were passed on by his Tibetan students.

Vajrapāṇi's most important lineage for these songs, as we shall see, passed through his Nepalese student Balpo Asu.[25] Of this Nepalese translator Karma Trinlaypa writes: "Balpo Asu heard [the *Dohās*] from [Vajrapāṇi], and thereupon what developed from him came to be known as the Bal Approach to the *Dohās*."[26] Go Lotsawa provides a short but extremely interesting account of Asu's life, a life that exemplifies the multicultural milieu in which teachings such as those of Saraha flourished. Contrary to Guenther's supposition that Balpo Asu was "probably of Tibetan stock,"[27] Go Lotsawa clearly states that he was the grandson of an Indian scholar living in Nepal.[28] After a youth of manual labor and an early life of receiving teachings from Vajrapāṇi and others, Balpo Asu settled in Tibet, north of Lhasa at Phenyul, and married a Tibetan woman, with whom he fathered four sons and three daughters. He is said to have taught the dohās in Drom.[29] The Zhije master Dampa Ma (b. 1055) is said to have met Balpo Asu at Lungsho[30] shortly after his first period of study with Phadampa Sangye in 1073,[31] though it must be admitted that this date is twenty years earlier than the date more commonly given for Phadampa Sangye's arrival in Dingri. Nevertheless, if this chronology proves sound, it would put Balpo Asu in Tibet sometime during the latter half of the 1070s.

Balpo Asu's contributions to the translation and propagation of Saraha's works are significant and well attested. Various Tibetan scholars link him in one way or another to all three works in the *Dohā Trilogy*. He also stands at

the center of the Tibetan controversy over the authenticity of the trilogy, which will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. First of all, Asu is the author and translator of the only non-Tibetan commentary that we know of on the *King Dohā*, the *Lamp of Meaning*, translated thirty years ago by Guenther.[32] Asu, here called Kyeme Dechen, attributes his learning of the dohā to Vajrapāṇi in the concluding verses of the work.[33] Second, Balpo Asu is credited with translating the *Queen Dohā* in two sources: Karma Trinlaypa states that Asu translated the work by himself, based upon a manuscript belonging to Vajrapāṇi.[34] In the colophon to the Derge edition of the work Vajrapāṇi and Asu are together credited with the editing (*zhus pa*) of the *Queen Dohā*, though curiously not explicitly with the translation (*sgyur/'gyur pa*).[35] Finally, in three noncanonical sources Asu is claimed to have been the translator of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, the *People Dohā*. Though none of the colophons of the authorized canonical versions of Saraha's *Dohākoṣa* mentions any translator, Karma Trinlaypa states that the version of the *Dohākoṣa* upon which he commented was translated by Balpo himself, who consulted the Indic text in the possession of his teacher Vajrapāṇi. As we have seen, Karma Trinlaypa, Lhatsun Rinchen Namgyal, and the first Jamyang Shepay Dorje[36] all seem to be drawing on a common source when they state that Asu translated the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* on the basis of an Indic mansucript that had been in the possession of Vajrapāṇi. Drakpa Dorje Palzangpo also mentions a translation by Balpo Asu.[37]

Ngari Jodan is the next figure in this story. Ngaripa was another of the many students of Vajrapāṇi who were instrumental in establishing dohā teachings in Tibet. Again, Karma Trinlaypa informs us: "Ngari Jodan heard them, and the tradition [passing] through [his student] Drushulwa was known as the Par Approach to the *Dohās*."[38] Go Lotsawa's account of Ngari Jodan follows directly upon the story of Balpo Asu.[39] Ngari Jodan received the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* from both Asu and Vajrapāṇi, and his story in the *Blue Annals* deals primarily with his concern about differences between the dohā teachings of his Indian and his Nepalese teachers. After receiving the *Pebble Cycle of Great Seal* teachings from Vajrapāṇi—a symbolic instruction on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*—Ngari Jodan went to meet Balpo Asu in Drom and was surprised to learn that Asu did not employ this method but rather had a more scholastic style that he felt suited the temperament of Tibetans. Balpo Asu nevertheless gave the *Pebble Cycle* to him, at which point Ngari Jodan was convinced that the teachings of Vajrapāṇi and the Nepalese master were identical in content if not in form. Go Lotsawa concludes his account by telling us that Ngari Jodan served as Balpo Asu's attendant for eight years.[40]

Though Ngari Jodan is not known to have written a commentary on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, members of his teaching lineage in subsequent generations were to compose several of the most enduring commentaries on Saraha's verses, commentaries that formed the basis of what Karma Trinlaypa styles the Par Approach to the dohās. Ngari Jodan's direct disciple, Drulshulwa—about whom Go Lotsawa has little to say—passed the teachings on to Parbuwa Lodro Senge.[41] Flourishing in the mid- to late twelfth century, Parbuwa came to the dohā teachings later in his religious career, after the

Madhyamaka teachings of Nāgārjuna under Chapa Chokyi Senge (1109–1169).[42] After studying Asu's tradition of *Treasury of Dohā Verses* exegesis with Drushulwa, he became a student of Phakmodrupa Dorje Gyalpo (1110–1170). Go Lotsawa tells us that Parbuwa authored eight works dedicated to Saraha's dohās, including summaries and extended commentaries upon all three works of the *Dohā Trilogy*. Only one of these, the *Summary of Saraha's Dohā Instruction*, is widely available today in the *Treasury of Spiritual Instructions*. Parbuwa's topical outline of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* is in fact the oldest commentary we currently possess. His works are quoted liberally by later commentators, including Karma Trinlaypa.

Nakpo Sherday was the last student of Vajrapāṇi to receive Saraha's teachings from the Indian scholar. According to Go Lotsawa, Nagpo traveled to eastern India to meet an aged Vajrapāṇi and was given instruction in ten *Great Seal* works, including six dohās by Saraha. Here we find the only clue to the transmission history of what can be considered Saraha's other major set of dohās, namely the *Body*, *Speech*, and *Mind Treasuries*, together with the *Body, Speech, and Mind Treasury*. Of these the *Speech Treasury* contains a translator's colophon in which the translator is given the rather ubiquitous name Nakpopa. Zhuchen Tsultrim Rinchen states that all four of these dohās were translated by the same scholar.[43] On the basis of the meeting between Varjapāṇi and Nakpo Sherday recounted by Go Lotsawa, I suggest that this Nakpopa is in fact Nakpo Sherday, and thus that these four massive but apparently unpopular dohās stem from this last period of Vajrapāṇi's tremendous efforts toward the propagation of the dohās in Tibet.

Maban Chobar, seen by Go Lotsawa as an incarnation of the father of the Tibetan script, Thonmi Sambhota, is perhaps better known in connection with his companion Macig Zhama (b. 1062) than with dohā lineages. Born in Lato, he traveled to Nepal as well as India, where he also studied with the famous Abhayākaragupta.[44] He also translated a number of *sādhanas* with the Nepalese scholar Varendraruci, alias Hamu Karpo, alias Puṇyākarabhadra, who was active during the same period in which Vajrapāṇi was living in Nepal.[45] We may also note incidentally that the famous Ngog Lotsawa Loden Sherap (1059–1109) worked in Nepal with the same Varendraruci.

Maban Chobar worked with Vajrapāṇi on the translation of a number of works now preserved in the Tanjur; most them belong the *Amanasikāra* cycle of works by Maitripa. Given his time spent working in Nepal, it is quite possible that the two worked together in the Kathmandu Valley, though given that Vajrapāṇi traveled to Tibet sometime during the 1060s, it is also possible that their collaboration occurred north of the Himalayas. We find two mentions of Maban working specifically on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. The first is an aside by Karma Trinlaypa: "In the Ma system of Pacification [teachings], descended from the best among Maitripa's students, Phadampa Sangye, although there was annotation for Ma Chobar's translation of the *People Dohā*, this was composed primarily for experiential instruction, and not primarily as textual explication as such."[46] The Ma system of Padampa Sangye's Pacification teachings are discussed further in the final section of this chapter. The second mention

is found in the *History of the Three Ordination Lineages* by Drakpa Dorje Gyaltsen Palzangpo.[47] Maban's translation does not seem to be extant today, though we cannot rule out that in the versions that are extant, we have an anonymous witness to his efforts, either directly or indirectly.

The Problem of Kor Nirūpa

In the works and travels of Dampa Kor Nirūpa, alias Prajñāśrījñānakīrti, we find the most puzzling of the problems associated with determining the course of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* through the Himalayas to Tibet. The importance of this yogin's contributions to Buddhism in Tibet during the twelfth century was largely forgotten by the time of Go Lotsawa, and thus the historian felt compelled to give a rather in-depth account of his life. According to Go Lotsawa, the young Kor was a pupil of Vairocanarakṣita—also of dohā fame—while the latter was living in Tibet. This assertion, however, raises some chronological problems: First of all, Go Lotsawa claims that Vairocana was a disciple of Atiśa, although a significant teacher–pupil connection between these two is not mentioned in Lama Zhang's early biography of Vairocanarakṣita. Second, Go Lotsawa uses the meeting between Kor Nirūpa—whose dates he gives as 1062 to 1102—and Vairocana as a means to date Vairocana's arrival in Tibet—dates that remain unknown. If Kor met Vairocana as a youth, the meeting would have taken place perhaps in the 1070s. However, it is reasonably certain that Vairocana taught Lama Zhang as late as the 1160s. Thus the unlikely conclusion is that Vairocana was in Tibet for nearly ninety years. Given the direct evidence of Zhang's meeting with Vairocana, I am inclined to discount Go Lotsawa's account of the meeting of Kor with this Indian teacher.

At any rate, after receiving monastic ordination in Lhasa, Kor traveled as a teen to Nepal, where he received instruction on the *Heart of Attainment* teachings (*Sgrub snying skor*), which is included the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. Go Lotsawa does not go into further details about the works in which Kor was given instruction in Nepal, though he does provide one crucial hint: While in Nepal, Kor received the name "Prajñāśrījñānakīrti," and it is this name that provides an important, if tenuous, link between Kor and the transmission of Saraha's teaching. The translation of one of the commentaries attributed to Advayavajra, the *Extensive Commentary on the Totally Arcane Song of the Inexhaustible Treasury which Elucidates the Natural Reality*,[48] is credited to an otherwise unknown Prajñāśrījñānakīrti, and, for lack of a better option, I would link this translator with Kor Nirūpa. In his commentary on Saraha's work, Chomden Raldri also provides some assistance—as well as more confusion—for this problem. "While it appears," he writes, "that [the commentary composed by] the so-called Advayavajra was translated by Vairocana, there is a writing that says that [the work] was composed by Kor Nirūpa and then rumored to have been made by Nyimay Tokpa Maitri, and [the verses] dissimilar to the actual root *Dohā* verses were composed by Śabareśvara." He thus concludes that "since he was called 'The Hunting Adept' and attained spiritual

accomplishments destroying game animals, he is not the same as the Great Brahmin. Since there are many fancies of his own liking in that commentary, it should not be trusted."[49] Here again, we find a link made between Kor and Vairocana, giving credence to Go Lotsawa's claim that the two had met. Unfortunately, the problem of the identity or difference of the Advayavajras or Advaya Avadhūtis credited with commentaries upon the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* makes the clear linking of translator to translation all the more difficult.

I suggest that the commentary by the "so-called" Advayavajra to which Chomden Raldri refers is not the shorter *Commentary on Difficult Points* translated by Vairocanarakṣita, but the *Extensive Commentary* of Advayavajra translated by Prajñāśrījñānakīrti. In the introduction to this lengthy commentary the author pays homage to Śabareśvara and indicates that the commentary is based upon the teachings of this master. Further, this commentary contains an extremely expanded and reworked version of the root verses, which will be examine in a later chapter. This restructured *Treasury of Dohā Verses* often bears little similarity to the version stemming from Vajrapāṇi and Balpo Asu, which had become standard by Chomden Raldri's time. It is little wonder, then, that in comparison with Balpo's translation, the efforts of Prajñāśrījñānakīrti would come under scrutiny by scholars such as Chomden Raldri.

Chomden Raldri is careful in his criticism of this commentary and its translation: While he does state that it should not be used, he does so by referring the reader to another source, at once strengthening his criticism of the work by recourse to a third party, while at the same time distancing himself from the final verdict. Regardless of whether or not we accept Chomden Raldri's point, we cannot deny that the verses in the *Extensive Commentary* of Advayavajra were heavily reworked by someone, be he an Indian, Nepalese, or Tibetan scholar, and that in many instances they diverge from the more widespread versions of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. If Kor Nirūpa and Prajñāśrījñānakīrti are one and the same, we can integrate Chomden Raldri's criticism, Go Lotsawa's life story of Kor, and the canonical colophon to Advayavajra's commentary. To be sure, Kor Nirūpa/Prajñāśrījñānakīrti can be considered as a forger of commentarial literature, and, as we have seen, he was so accused by some Tibetan scholars. But we can also see him as the most creative among those who brought the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* from Nepal to Tibet. The verses in his version often constitute the most evocative poetry of the entire corpus of variant *Treasuries*. He, above all, can be said to be a co-creator of the dohās of Saraha, a re-creator of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. We will return to this point later.

Marpa, Milarepa, and Others

The role of Marpa Chokyi Lodro in bringing the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* to Tibetan is perhaps the most nebulous of that of all the figures under consideration here, for he is not known to have translated the work itself or any of its commentaries. He is accepted in early traditional accounts as one of the

major Tibetan students of Maitripa, a connection claimed even in the early biography composed by Lama Zhang (1123–1193).[50] According to Karma Trinlaypa: "Lord Marpa did indeed hear [the *Dohā Trilogy*] well from Maitripa, and while he did integrate the teachings into his experience and grant them to Noble Mila and others, he made no translations or explanatory teachings for the three works."[51] As we shall see in chapter 5, according to later tradition one of Marpa's most profound peak experiences occurred while he was detained in Nepal for tax collection, during which time he dream-traveled to Śrī Parvata and met Saraha. While we cannot point to an explicit link between the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* and Marpa, he is more than any other traveler and translator traditionally held responsible for importing the ethos of Saraha's poetic instructions, an ethos that was to blossom into a truly Tibetan tradition under his disciple Milarepa.

The famous student of Milarepa, Rechungpa Dorjedrak, also finds a place in the story of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* in Tibet. As Karma Trinlaypa informs us, "Lord Rechungpa heard them from him [Balpo] and Tibupa, and thereupon this successive tradition came to be known as the Rechung Approach to the *Dohās*."[52] As in Marpa's case, we have no evidence that Rechungpa ever translated either the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* or a commentary upon it. The *Religious History from Lhorong*[53] states that he received teachings from Balpo Asu, and the *Blue Annals* adds further that this meeting occurred in central Tibet.[54]

Phadampa Sangye, no doubt one of the most intriguing of the Indian teachers to settle in Tibet, contributed to the spread of Saraha's works in a rather indirect way by translating (or composing) several anthologies of tantric songs which included verses attributed to Saraha. As we will see, one of these verses can be traced directly to the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*.[55] A later chapter will examine this and other anthologies connected with Phadampa Sangye. For now I will just point out that the presence of this verse in the anthology suggests either that the anthology in an Indic version contained a verse from the *Dohākoṣa*, or that—if Phadampa Sangye himself created the anthology—he had at his disposal the long poem of Saraha. Karma Trinlaypa tells us of another part that Phadampa Sangye and the Pacification tradition played:[56] "In the Ma system of Pacification, descended from the best among Maitripa's students, Phadampa Sangye, there was annotation for Maban Chobar's translation of the *People Dohā*, though this was composed primarily for experiential instruction and not as textual explication as such."

The translation efforts of the Indian scholar and traveler Vairocanarakṣita are centered almost exclusively on dohā literature. His work is not mentioned by Karma Trinlaypa, perhaps because he is credited with translating a commentary on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* and not the root verses themselves. Whatever the reason for Karma Trinlaypa's oversight, we cannot ignore the important contribution made by Vairocanavajra to the presence of dohā songs in Tibet. He was also the translator of the major *Dohākoṣas* of Virūpa, Kṛṣṇācārya, and Tilopa.[57]

Tengpa Lotsawa Tsultrim Jungnay is mentioned as a translator of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* only by Chomden Raldri.[58] He is, however, known to

Go Lotsawa—or perhaps to the editors of the *Blue Annals*—as one of the many Tibetan translators of the *Kālacakratantra*.[59] The fascinating biography of him in the *Blue Annals* tells of his many travels to both Nepal and India, though it gives us no clue as to where he might have translated Saraha's work.[60]

Other than the fact that the next two scholars, the Indian Gyalway Lha (*Jinadeva) and Gya Lotsawa, translated one of the commentaries on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* attributed to Advayavajra, we know nothing of them. They are credited with translating the *Commentary on Difficult Points in the Dohā* by Mokṣākāragupta, a figure whose dates and biography are equally vague but who seems to have lived toward the end of the twelfth century.[61] What is clear, however, is that these two translators had access to a Tibetan version of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* that was very similar to the version coming from Balpo Asu out of Vajrapāṇi's tradition. As is common with other commentaries on difficult points (*dka' 'grel*), in Mokṣākāragupta's work the root dohā verses are not quoted in full: Only the first few words of each verse-section are cited along with single words that require definition. *Jinadeva and Gya Lotsawa's translations of these fragmentary verses accord very well with Balpo Asu's translation as we find it today in both Lhatsunpa Rinchen Namgyal's xylograph edition[62] and the canonical versions. This high degree of similarity could have been carried out only with the aid of Balpo Asu's translation. In theory it is possible that the fragmentary verses of a commentary on difficult points might form the basis of a separate translation of root verses, but this would be a very difficult translation enterprise, and it seems far less likely than the former alternative. The relation between Balpo Asu's translation and that of Jinadeva and Gya Lotsawa, coupled with the dates proposed for Mokṣākaragupta, has encouraged me to place these two translators at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Jodan's Dānaśila involvement with the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* is known only by virtue of a brief mention in Chomden Raldri's commentary. According to him:[63] "[I] heard [the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*] under Master Jodan, a meditator in the lineage [of Mokṣākaragupta], who came under the Great Kashmirian Śākyaśrī as his attendant. The great scholar Guru Dānaśila said, 'As for the single teaching which arose out of the teaching of the Buddha, this one is profound.' " Dānaśila was one of several Indian masters who traveled to Tibet with Śākyaśrībhadra (d.1225), and we can thus place this movement of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* in the first half of the thirteenth century.[64]

Finally, brief mention should be made of the *Dohākoṣa* manuscript discovered by Rahul Saṃkṛtyāyana at Sakya. As will be discussed later, this manuscript represents a vastly different recension of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, containing as it does some eighty-one unique verses.[65] I have found no record of this version ever having been translated, nor does the colophon contain any clues to its provenance. We thus remain in the dark regarding its transmission history and can only surmise that, since it was located at Sakya, it was read by someone there and thus played an as yet undetermined role in the life of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* in Tibet.

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5

Commentary and Controversy on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* in Tibet

There are grounds to doubt the *Queen* and *King Dohās*.

—Buton Rinchendrup

The Development of Commentarial Approaches

By the middle of twelfth century the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* was firmly entrenched in the scholarly, literary, and spiritual lives of Tibetan exegetes and yogic practitioners. During the next two centuries the interest in Saraha's opus was to develop in several different directions and crystalize into a number of distinct commentarial traditions. Karma Trinlaypa again provides us with the most detailed summary of these traditions: "Balpo Asu heard [the *Dohās*] from him [Vajrapāṇi], and thereupon what developed from him came to be known as the Bal Approach to the *Dohās*. Lord Rechungpa heard them from him [Balpo] and Tibupa, and thereupon this successive tradition came to be known as the Rechung Approach to the *Dohās*. Ngari Jodan heard them, and the tradition [passing] through [his student] Drushulwa was known as the Par Approach to the *Dohās*."[1] Three traditions are enumerated here by Karma Trinlaypa: the Bal, Rechung, and Par Approaches. It appears that the Bal Approach did not continue as a teaching tradition of its own but was to become the Rechung Approach.

As we have seen, Rechungpa Dorjedrak was one of the many figures credited with bringing teachings relating to the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* north of the Himalayas. The Rechung Approach was to develop further into two distinct traditions, known as the Kar and Ling Approaches. Karma Trinlaypa details the proliferation, noting

that "the Rechung Approach descended through Zangri Repa, Drogon Rechen,[2] Pomdrakpa,[3] the Karmapa, and Nyenray. The commentary [on Saraha's *Dohās*] composed by Lord Rangjung [was known as] the Kar Approach to the *Dohās*." Separately, the tradition that "descended from Rechungpa through the Victors Lo and Sumpa was known as the Ling Approach to the *Dohās* because of the commentary composed by Lingrepa, and though these two styles existed, in later times they were explained as the Emptiness of Other Approach." Karma Trinlaypa took pains to outline these various traditions, despite the fact that his teacher was partial to only one of them: "Many [approaches] developed, and though a plethora of teaching styles appeared, my mentor Trulzhig Chenpo exclusively spoke on the Par Approach. He gave instruction and composed books, such as his commentary [on the *Dohās*]."[4] Let us look at the traditions he has outlined in somewhat more detail.

First, the Kar, or more fully the Karmapa Approach, achieved its definitive form in the work of the Third Karmapa, Rangjung Dorje. According to Situ Panchen Chokyi Jungnay, Rangjung Dorje studied the dohās with Nyenray at Tshurphu, the seat of the Karmapa School.[5] Rangjung Dorje's commentary on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, the *Stainless Lamp*,[6] is short and concise, comprised mainly of brief explanations of the verses, with a minimum of digression or scriptural citation. At the conclusion of the work Rangjung Dorje situates himself within the teaching tradition of Maitripa, Tibupa, Varjapāṇi, and Rechungpa[7] as well as the commentarial tradition stretching back through Ling Repa to Balpo Asu.[8]

The Ling Approach stretches back to Loji Gowa, not to be confused with Lorepa Wangchuk Tsondru (1187–1259)[9] and Tsangpa Sumpa, both of whom were disciples of Rechungpa Dorjedrak.[10] Ling Repa Pema Dorje studied under both of these masters, having come in search of Rechungpa in 1162, just one year after the latter's death.[11] Ling Repa's commentary, about which will be discussed later, contains among other things a radically reorganized rendition of Saraha's *Treasury of Dohā Verses*.

It is the works of Parbuwa Lodro Senge, founder of Parbu Monastery, however, that can claim the earliest position among indigenous commentaries upon Saraha's *Dohās*. Initially Parbuwa was a student of the Sangphu abbot, Chapa Chokyi Senge, and is counted as one of his "Four Wise Ones."[12] Parbuwa went on to become the holder of two lineages of dohā teachings: that from Drulshulwa[13] and that from Phakmodrupa Dorje Gyalpo.[14] He was also known to tradition in another group of four disciples, the "Four Greatest" students of Phal. His works were known to and employed by many later writers, most prominently by Karma Trinlaypa himself. The monastery that he founded at Parbu later in life was apparently to become a center of some importance for the spread of teachings on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* and the other songs of the *Dohā Trilogy*; in 1173, at the age of 29, Yergom (1144–1204) visited Parbu Monastery and received these teachings from Lodro Senge himself.[15] Yergom was to found the monastery of Nyephu Shugsep some nine years later, thus giving rise to the short-lived Shugsep Kagyu, one of the eight minor traditions descending from students of Phakmodrupa Dorje Gyalpo.[16] This tradition is

remembered primarily for its specialization in the dohā exegetical works of Parbuwa, teachings which were handed down to Go Lotsawa himself.[17] Parbuwa was a prolific writer, authoring a number of smaller and larger commentaries. According to Go Lotsawa,[18] he composed eight guides to all three of the songs in the *Dohā Trilogy*, of which six are extant today.[19]

Which Dohās Are Authentic?

Against the backdrop of this flourishing commentarial tradition in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a heated controversy emerged over the authenticity of the latter two works in the *Dohā Trilogy*, namely the *Queen* and *King Dohās*. The authenticity of Saraha's works was a matter of discussion and debate for Tibetan scholars throughout the centuries just as they are for us today. Although it may be just a matter of academic interest for moderns, for Tibetan practitioners the outcome of the debate was tied to the larger discussion regarding the criteria by which any work was judged to be canonical or spurious. It was also a matter of upholding the reputation and the validity of one's school and the teaching and practice lineages of which one was a part.

As a general rule, at least since the time of the prolific translator Rinchen Zangpo (958–1055) and the age of the creation of the canons of the new translations, a work had to be shown to have an Indic original in order to be canonical, that is, in order to be lauded with all the reverence accorded to a teaching or text with a pure Buddhist pedigree. Thus, if a scripture came under scrutiny, one of the first points its critics would raise would be the presence or lack of any Indic original. This sort of criticism should not be separated from sectarian controversies over the efficacy of a certain school's favored teachings, because by calling into doubt the authenticity of a source text such as the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* or the highly controversial *Guhyagarbha Tantra*, one undermines the validity of the lineage of teachers and disciples who cherished that text. In short, to cry forgery in the case of scripture was a personal matter, and though all is certainly not clear in the case of the *Dohā Trilogy* controversy, we can note that the general division fell along sectarian lines, as we shall see.

Despite the justified criticism laid upon Buton by Go Lotsawa about the rigor and logic of his methods of canonization,[20] scholars used the criteria formalized (if not developed) by him in the debate over a number of texts, including the *King* and *Queen Dohās*. Buton himself allows in his Tanjur catalog that there is some room for doubt as to the authenticity of these works.[21] The names *People*, *King*, and *Queen Dohās* refer to three texts, otherwise known in Tibet by their Sanskritized titles as the *Dohākoṣagīti*, the *Dohākoṣa-upadeśagīti*, and the *Dohākoṣanāmacāryagīti*. According to Karma Trinlaypa, these three constitute the *Dohā Trilogy* and represent a coherent cycle of works arranged and performed by Saraha for King Mahāpāla, his queen, and the people of his court. Both Karma Trinlaypa and Go Lotsawa mention dissenting opinions of those who claimed that the *King* and *Queen Dohās* were in fact composed by the Nepalese master Balpo Asu, who was instrumental in bringing Saraha's

teachings to Tibet. Nevertheless, they themselves accept the authenticity of the two works.[22] Karma Trinlaypa counters by claiming that Indic texts of all three were in the possession of Vajrapāṇi, Balpo Asu's Indian teacher, and that such previous masters as Rangjung Dorje wrote commentaries on all three.[23] Go Lotsawa counters by pointing out that a separate transmission of all three works passed to Tibet through the efforts of the Indian master Vairocanarakṣita.[24] Despite Go Lotsawa's confidence in the lineage of Vairocanarakṣita, the *List of Teachings Received* belonging to this master's Tibetan student Lama Zhang states that he received only the "*dohā*" of Saraha from Vairocanarakṣita; it does not say how many there were nor does it employ the term *Dohā Trilogy*, and thus it is less helpful to Go Lotsawa's argument than one would want from a source that predates his claims by some 300 years.[25]

Karma Trinlaypa becomes emotional in his discussion of the literary history of Saraha's works, and he provides the most detailed summary of the arguments against and for the authenticity of the *Dohā Trilogy*. "Some despicable people," he begins strongly, "allege that the *King* and *Queen* [*Dohās*] are not actual works composed by Saraha, and that the so-called *Dohā Trilogy* should not be referred to as a [group of] three texts. What are they, then?" According to Karma Trinlaypa, his opponents claim that the three dohās are "the cycle of empowerment for maturation, the cycle of textual explanation, and the cycle of experiential guidance. These constitute the *Dohā Trilogy*. Furthermore, the first is the empowerment of Vajravārāhi, or the empowerment of the four symbols of the *Dohā*, the second is the explanation of the *People Dohā* utilizing the commentary by Maitripa, and the third is the instruction in the four symbols of the *Dohā*. Therefore, the other two texts were made by forgers. So they alleged," writes Karma Trinlaypa.

Furthermore, his opponents also cite textual evidence to the effect that "since none [of the *Dohā Trilogy*] occurs in the Tanjur catalog but the *People Dohā*, and there are no Indian commentaries for the other two, since Great Adept Ling Repa composed a commentary to the *People Dohā* and did not compose any for the other two, and because Lord Rechungpa did not see any but the *People Dohā* in India [and yet] all three were in the hands of Balpo Asu when he came to Tibet, scholars such as Buton have asked if the other two were composed by the Master Balpo." Karma Trinlaypa is aghast at such claims against the *Dohā Trilogy* and mounts a detailed counterargument against his opponents. "These are the reports of those who are frivolous in the work of religious training." The textual evidence they cite is, according to Karma Trinlaypa, fruadulent, for "these words do not occur within Ling [Repa's] commentary. Though [I] have seen these words written later in the text, after the author's colophon and the concluding sentence, they are an addition made by ignorant people." Karma Trinlaypa dismisses the criticism of the canonical status of the *King* and *Queen Dohās*, pointing out that "many rare texts were not listed in the catalog of the Tanjur since they were not found, and if works are not genuine Indian texts because they have no Indian commentary, then it would follow that the non-Indic texts are indeed many." Finally, he concludes his argument with an appeal to tradition:

> Therefore, since the three works have Indic exemplars which were owned by Vajrapāṇi the Indian, since there are commentaries that authorize the three texts by Parbuwa, Tsangnagpa, and many earlier scholars, since the Noble Rangjung and others endowed with the eye of primordial awareness composed commentaries on all three, and since many later scholars such as Mati Panchen and Lord [Go Lotsawa] Yizang Tsepa have also composed commentaries on the three, they therefore must be upheld as trustworthy sources.[26]

It is unfortunate that Karma Trinlaypa does not name his opponents in this lengthy rebuttal; their identities, even their partisan allegiance, remains unclear. What is clear, however, is that Karma Trinlaypa was not about to let a technicality such as the lack of an Indic manuscript overshadow the authority of tradition; Parbuwa, Tsangnakpa Tsondru Senge,[27] the Third Kamapa Rangjung Dorje, even Go Lotsawa himself, wrote commentaries on all three of the Great Brahmin's *Dohās,* and this fact alone proves their worth as authentic Indian Buddhist works.

A Critical View of Saraha's Works

One other scholar has left us with a detailed account of the controversy, though on the other side of the argument: the Sakyapa scholar Drakpa Dorje, whose remarks on Saraha's religious career were cited in a previous chapter. Drakpa Dorje embarks on a detailed discussion of the authenticity of the works of Saraha, alias Rāhulabhadra. He begins by stating that only a few of the total works composed by this figure were translated into Tibetan, two of which include the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* and the *Prajñāpāramitā Stotra,* or *Encomium to the Pefection of Insight*. Although it is his overall intention to uphold the identity of Saraha with Rāhulabhadra, he treats these two texts separately, discussing the *Dohākoṣagıti* in the context of other dohās connected with Saraha, and attributing the *Encomium* specifically to Rāhulabhadra. I will present his comments on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* in full and then examine each point briefly. Drakpa Dorje states:

> While the *People Dohā* is incontestable, those scholars who suspect that the *King Dohā* and the *Queen Dohā* were made up by Pharbuwa Lodro Senge are justified in this. Still, some of extremely low acumen allege that even the *People Dohā* was made up by Tibetan [adherents of the Great] Seal [Teachings]. This statement is totally unacceptable because: [First, the *People Dohā*] is cited in [works] such as the *Sekodeśaṭīkā*, and the *Nāmasaṅgītiṭīppanī* composed by Raviśrījñāna.
>
> [Second,] three translations have appeared: that of the teacher Lord [Atiśa] and [his] student Naktsho, that of Ma Lotsawa Chobar, and that of Balpo Asu. [Lastly,] I myself have inspected the Indic

> texts of the *People Dohā*, as well as the commentaries composed by Advayavajra and Amitavajra—[in Tibetan] Pagme Dorje—and have made revisions of the translations.[28]

In contrast to Karma Trinlaypa, Drakpa Dorje accepts the possibility that the *King* and *Queen Dohās* were created by someone other than Saraha. For him, however, the forger would have been not Balpo Asu—as in the case of the detractors taken to task by Karma Trinlaypa—but rather his grand-student Parbuwa Lodro Senge. Drakpa Dorje invests authority in Balpo Asu by using his translation as evidence of the authenticity of the *People Dohā*, yet at the same time casts doubt on him indirectly by slandering a prominent scholar in his lineage: Parbuwa Lodro Senge. It is perhaps for this reason that he does not cast his lot in with the objectors mentioned by Karma Trinlaypa, who proposed that the *King* and *Queen Dohās* were forgeries created by Balpo Asu himself. To do so would have invalidated Balpo Asu's legitimacy as an honest transmitter of the *People Dohā* altogether. With what success he met in this line of reasoning we do not know.

Though Drakpa Dorje may have had his doubts about the latter two *Dohās*, he is firm in his rebuke of those who doubt the authenticity of the *People Dohā*. He supports his position with reference to citations of the *Dohā* in two Indian texts: the commentary by Nāropa on the *Sekoddeśa*,[29] and the commentary by Nyimapal Yeshe, or Raviśrījñāna, on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*.[30] He then mentions three translations of the *People Dohā*, discussed here earlier. Finally, in support of the authenticity of the *People Dohā*, Drakpa Dorje states significantly that he had access to the Indic texts of the work itself as well as two commentaries, and further that he made revisions to previous translations, indicating both that Indic manuscripts of the *Dohākoṣa* were still in use in Tibet in the later half of the fifteenth century, and that Drakpa Dorje was himself knowledgeable in both Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa.

The commentaries that he lists present problems of their own: The mention of a commentary by Advayavajra (1007–1085), alias Maitripa, could refer to any one of three texts now fixed in the canons under different names associated with this eleventh-century Indian teacher. Only one of these texts is now extant in Sanskrit.[31] In each, as we shall see in a later chapter, the translations of the verses *Treasury of Dohā Verses* themselves are for the most part quite different, varying greatly in length, content, and translation style, but nevertheless showing a curious identity in certain passages. This suggests a complex relation between the verses, the commentaries, and the different translations of all of these, in the wake of which we can at this point only speculate on what the *People Dohā* or *Dohās* in the possession of Drakpa Dorje actually looked like.

The second commentator mentioned is no less perplexing: Drakpa Dorje gives his name in Sanskrit, Amitavajra, as well as Tibetan, Pagme Dorje, but at present no such commentary on the *People Dohā* is otherwise known. Tāranātha states that an Amitavajra was a grand-disciple of Kṛṣṇācārya,[32] and it is

possible that this Amitavajra may be identical to Amṛtavajra, author of an extant Sanskrit commentary not on Saraha's *Treasury of Dohā Verses* but on that of Kṛṣṇācārya. This issue is further complicated by the fact that this commentary is attributed to one Opagme (Amitābha) in the Tibetan canons. It is thus not clear whether Drakpa Dorje possessed a Sanskrit commentary on Saraha's work of which we now have no record, or if perhaps for him the work now attributed to Kṛṣṇācārya was to be counted among the works of Saraha. Perhaps he was simply mentioning yet another Sanskrit text that he had worked on, unrelated to the *People Dohā*, though this seems a rather vague and out-of-context remark for him to make. Aside from the rather confusing morass of texts, titles, and uncertain attributions, what is clear is that, like Buton a century and a half earlier, Drakpa Dorje used the presence or absence of any Indic text as the primary criterion to distinguish between the *People Dohā* and the *King* and *Queen Dohās*.

Next Drakpa Dorje takes up two small issues regarding Rāhulabhadra's (i.e., Saraha's) *Prajñāpāramitāstotra,* the authorship of which was apparently in some doubt. As was pointed out in an earlier chapter, Drakpa Dorje went to great pains to establish the identity of Saraha and Rāhulabhadra. Thus he is here defending the validity of Saraha's writings by defending those that go under the name Rāhulabhandra. It is curious, though, that he treats this work in a completely separate manner from the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* and other dohā songs; it is as if he had trouble integrating his own arguments and was forced to present his findings in a way that actually vitiated the point of his demonstrations—namely that the two Indians are in fact the same person. According to some, Drakpa Dorje informs us, this work went by the name of *Rnam par mi rtog pa la [b]stod pa* and was attributed to Nāgārjuna. I have found no other mention of this title, though the *Prajñāpāramitāstotra* itself is attributed to Nāgārjuna in the Tibetan canons.[33] Nevertheless, this attribution is incorrect according to Drakpa Dorje, for in Buddhapālita's commentary on the eighteenth chapter of Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* a verse from the work in question is said to be from Rāhulabhadra's *Prajñāpāramitāstotra*.[34]

Drakpa Dorje's second contention regarding this text is with several Tibetan writers who had claimed that the verse line "Unspeakable, ineffable is the perfection of insight" is from Rāhulabhadra's *Stotra*. He dismisses this claim by pointing out that this line actually occurs in Ratnakīrti's *Sbyor ba bzhi'i lha la stod pa*, and in this he is correct, at least by later standards of canonization.[35] These rather minute points suggest that the Indian scriptural corpus had a fluidity of authorship and title in fifteenth-century Tibet which may not be so obvious now in the face of the standardization later imposed by the canonical collections.

In summary, two aspects of Drakpa Dorje's work on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* are worthy of reiteration: First, he utilized Indic manuscripts of Saraha's *Dohākoṣa* and commentaries upon it to revise previous translations, indicating that the study of the *Dohās* in their Apabhraṃśa form existed in fifteenth-century Tibet. Second, he rejects the authenticity of the latter two *Dohās* of

Saraha's *Dohā Trilogy*, and though Karma Trinlaypa and others make note of such a position, Drakpa Dorje is to my knowledge the only known proponent of this position who offers a detailed defense.

Another Sakyapa scholar also had something to say about the status of the *Dohā Trilogy*: Jamgon Amezhap. In his history of the *Guhyasamaja* lineages he follows Buton's view and endorses the claim that the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* is the only verifiably authentic work of *Dohā Trilogy*.[36] His view is also implied by the results of his editorial activity on the *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts*. His version of Saraha's hagiography is substantially the same as the canonical recension of Abhayadatta's tale. Amezhap has edited the work thoroughly, to be sure, although most of the changes he has made are grammatical and orthographic and leave the narrative largely untouched. Yet there is one notable exception; as was seen in the previous chapter, the canonical version of the *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts* has Saraha singing all three songs of the *Dohā Trilogy* to the people, queen, and king of his kingdom. In Amezhap's version, Saraha does not sing his famous three songs; the line "so he sang songs to the king, the queen, and the people, and these became known as the *Dohā Trilogy*" is absent.[37] What can we make of this absence in an edition that otherwise is in good accord with the other extant versions of this hagiography? I suggest that this omission was Amezhap's way of signaling his opinion regarding the authenticity of the latter two works of the *Dohā Trilogy*; he did not believe them to be composed by Saraha and thus he erased any mention of them from Saraha's hagiography.

While it is too soon to draw any firm conclusions regarding the different groups who either favored or slandered the *King* and *Queen Dohās*, as far as our sources tell us at this time the division fell along sectarian lines; all Kagyupa writers who have anything to say about Saraha or dohā literature agree that the whole of the *Dohā Trilogy* is the authentic creation of Saraha himself. By contrast the four dissenting opinions now known come from two Sakyapas,[38] one Shalupa, and a Kadampa: Drakpa Dorje Palsang, Amyezhap, Buton, and Chomden Raldri, respectively.[39] From this pattern we can surmise that the controversy over Saraha's *Dohā Trilogy* was a sectarian controversy, one in which the Kagyupa constantly felt compelled to defend one of their most precious teachings and, more important, the reputation of the tradition descending from one of their most cherished poet-saints. It is equally clear that the sanctity of Saraha himself was not at issue, for he is also revered as forerunner of the Kadampa; Amezhap includes Saraha in his history of the Kadampa school as a teacher of the *Guhyasamaja Tantra*.[40]

6

Creating the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*

With ever new dohā verses, nothing is hidden. —Saraha

The time and place of Saraha are steeped in obscurity despite—or perhaps because of—the abundance of hagiographic material devoted to him. This being the case, it is not surprising that the history of the composition of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* is equally opaque. We will probably never know just how the dohās of Saraha were composed, or even if he composed all or any of them. Charlotte Vaudeville states the problem succinctly with regard to Kabīr's poetry: "There is no evidence that Kabīr ever composed a single work or even wrote a single verse."[1] This applies as well to Saraha and the large corpus of spiritual songs attributed to him; we simply have no direct evidence that Saraha wrote the dohās that are currently available to us. There is no autograph manuscript with Saraha's signature; the oldest manuscript was scribed perhaps several centuries after his death, and even it, as we shall see, was a compilation of disparate verses written down by a distant member of his tradition. The various recensions of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* are so different as to make the creation of any ur-text a feat of the imagination. The very name *Treasury of Dohā Verses* should lead us to inquire about the circumstance of its creation in the tradition following Saraha, and not in the single-focused intentions of an author presenting a coherent work of literature, or a logically organized work of philosophy. "*Dohākoṣa*" should not even be translated as *The Treasury of Dohā Verses*, but rather as *A Treasury of Dohā Verses*—a compilation of *dohā* verses. "With ever new dohā verses, nothing remains hidden," Saraha tells us.[2] These words ring with irony when

one reads them with the knowledge that this dohā itself exists only in one of the dozen or so recensions of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. But its absence makes no difference to Saraha's message, for the verse contains instructions for its own disappearance. The traditions following Saraha took the spirit of this verse to heart, and until one recension of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* was canonized in Tibetan translation in the fourteenth century, "ever new dohās" found their way into the *Treasuries*.

This and the next chapter will present a variety of viewpoints on the development of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* and the dohā literature in general. As in the discussion of the tales of Saraha in part I, this chapter constitutes an anthology of sorts, bringing together translations and traditional discussions of dohā songs.[3] The next section will provide a brief overview of the place of the dohās within the Tibetan canon, as well a collection of exemplary songs. With the songs fresh in mind, the section following will present what commentators on Saraha's *Treasury of Dohā Verses* have said about the creation of such poetic descriptions of tantric practice. The section after that will look closely at another set of writings in which Saraha figures: the anthologies of tantric songs attributed to Phadampa Sangye. Finally, a detailed analysis of the nature of these anthologies, and the means by which they were assembled, will allow us to conjecture about the ways in which the songs of Saraha himself may have been developed by the tradition. Throughout these varied discussions I have sought to ask about the form, literary context, and methods of creation of the dohās.

Dohās in the Tibetan Buddhist Canon

Saraha is the attributed author of twenty-six separate works in the Derge Tanjur. They can be divided into three general groups: The first is a collection of works dealing with the *Buddhakapāla Tantra*,[4] including a commentary on difficult points, a *sādhana* ritual manual, and a longer manual for conducting the maṇḍala ritual associated with the Tantra. The second group is the dohās. The third group consists of four different translations of essentially the same *sādhana* dedicated to Lokeśvara.[5] Out of these twenty-six works, eighteen are poetic songs, styled in their Tibetan titles either as *do ha* (*dohā*), *glu*, or some combination of the two terms. A total of eighteen scholars contributed to the translation and transmission of Saraha's canonical works, and seven of them are named as having worked on the dohās. Although the dohās constitute the larger part of Saraha's works in terms of titles, they account for only 43 folios out of 123.5 total in the Derge Tanjur. The commentary on the *Buddhakapāla Tantra* is the longest of the works attributed to him.

The dohās of Saraha are part of a larger corpus of works collected in the Tanjur under the section title, "Commentaries on the General Intention of the Highest Yoga Tantras."[6] According to Zhuchen Tsultrim Rinchen, author of the catalog to the Derge Tanjur, there are 287 separate works in this section. These works form the basis of any study of the writings of Saraha and other

later tantric poet-saints; in three volumes of the Tanjur the greater part of the ecstatic poetry of the Buddhist adepts is collected.[7] They range in length dramatically, from Saraha's massive song on Mahāmudra theory in some 700 lines (*Sku mdzod 'chi med rdo rje'i glu*) to Kāṇhapāda's cryptic single line "Diamond-Song," no doubt one of the shortest works in the Tanjur:

> Homage to glorious Vajrāsana-pāda.
> Said: Kāṇha's mind not being at all stable, all appears topsy turvy.
> The *Diamond-Song* by Master Kāṇhapāda is complete.[8]

Diamond-songs are perhaps the most elegant of the songs preserved in the Tanjur, as the following translations attempt to show. Dispensing with the often semi-exegetical style of works such as the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, they use metaphor, paradox, and suggestion to portray the experience of tantric practice as spontaneous, playful, and transcending logical analysis. The diamond-songs are much shorter than dohās, and they more often employ metaphorical language. Diamond-songs strive for a poetic beauty far exceeding that of the more prosaic dohā materials and feel more like songs, like emotionally charged teachings whose lessons lie in the evocation of a certain feeling rather than in the promotion of a certain doctrine. A few examples of such songs from well-known adepts such as Nāropa, Virūpa, Ḍombi, and Saraha himself will illustrate this feeling. The following anonymous diamond-song expresses in a few words what volumes of Madhyamaka treatises have sought to explicate through reasoned argumentation:

> Homage to the Greatly Compassionate.
> As am I,
> So are you.
> Separation, conception,
> Serpent sprung from an ocean of ambrosia,
> Hissing conception.
> Diamond-song is complete.[9]

Using similar serpent imagery, Nāropa's diamond-song contains one of the most striking self-reflexive conclusions of any of these songs:

> Homage to Lord Mañjuvajra.
> Cunning serpent of conception,
> Snares us. Our minds:
> As, just as they conceptualize,
> So, just so are they fettered,
> Feeling much useless suffering.
>
> Followers of delusion
> Will not be rid of delusion.
> Compassionate hero
> Must meditate on just that.

As, just as he discerns,
So, just so is he free.

Insight hydra
Devours selfhood.
Insight hydra
Forever nourishes contemplation with milk,
Slaying the mongoose of conception.

The hundred-headed insight serpent
Forever devours Nāropa.
Who knows this?
Nāropa himself knows.
Nāropa asks this of himself.
Great yogin Nāropa's diamond-song is complete.[10]

Ḍombi's song employs imagery from the hunt. The forests become the illusory nature of the world seen from an unenlightened state, the journey into the forest becomes the spiritual quest. The kill, repeated in the refrain of the song, hails the adept's triumph:

Homage to the Buddha.
Into the many forests of illusion,
To slay beasts Minister Ḍombi goes.
Backward travels, where beasts travel, I see.
A sharpened arrow Ḍombi readies: it plunges in.

Five arrows has he, five let loose straight on.
Ḍombi takes up the readied bow, and there they go.
Backward travels, where beasts travel, I see.
A sharpened arrow Ḍombi readies: it plunges in.

No bow, no string, no reed, no tip has he.
Ḍombi, doubtless, slays with certainty.
Backward travels, where beasts travel, I see.
A sharpened arrow Ḍombi readies: it plunges in.

Setting the five Victors upon your diadem,
Slay the beasts again and again.
Backward travels, where beasts travel, I see.
A sharpened arrow Ḍombi readies: it plunges in.
Ḍombi's song is complete.[11]

Virūpa's diamond-song again uses hunting imagery to evoke a vivid sense of the immediacy of realization; the reader is fooled, following the arrow to its target, expecting something solid to strike and—nothing:

Homage to the Buddha.
Taking up the arrow of the diamond yoginī,

Espying objects at which to aim,
I shoot the arrow of co-emergence:
No target, not one, nothing struck.

Hear the message of co-emergence:
An arrow which connects with all things.
I shoot the arrow of co-emergence:
No target, not one, nothing struck.

No sensation exists beyond these.
"Of this," "This is," have passed into nonduality.
I shoot the arrow of co-emergence:
No target, not one, nothing struck.

Not even a price of twenty shells;
Such a slave makes Virūpa.
I shoot the arrow of co-emergence:
No target, not one, nothing struck.
The diamond-song of Virūpa is complete.[12]

The songs of Saraha do not begin and end with the three most popular dohās—the *King, Queen*, and *People Dohās*. Fifteen more songs attest to the popularity of this form of spiritual instruction. Another trilogy—or perhaps quartet—is attributed to him, as well as an *Alphabet Dohā* in which the first word of each verse begins with a consecutive letter of the Apabhraṃśa alphabet, as well as two songs simply titled "song." The first of these songs uses an impossible vision—milking the sky—to express the freedom from convention heralded by the adepts. This untitled poem consisting of a simple verse and refrain, is surely one of Saraha's most evocative:

Intertwined are the natures of emptiness and compassion
Indivisible, unceasing, emptiness exists.
I see the empty ḍākinī,
Milking, milking, and drinking the sky.

She churns the sky in sky unseen,
Upon the earth, bound by samsara she does not dwell.
I see the empty ḍākinī
Milking, milking, and drinking the sky.

A ḍākinī such as she wanders from home, from the root;
Stainless is the magnificent taste of compassion.
I see the empty ḍākinī,
Milking, milking, and drinking the sky.

Why should anyone else do what Saraha says?
Day and night he walks to drink the sky.
I see the empty ḍākinī,
Milking, milking, and drinking the sky.
Saraha's Song is complete.[13]

Saraha's second diamond-song speaks of joyous feelings that accompany the fruits of spiritual insight:

> Homage to the Buddha.
> "Profound, Profound!" says all the world,
> Yet, within the unborn there is something joyous.
> Lo, the depths of mind are difficult to know, so,
> When co-emergence is dissected, it is not there.
>
> Mind unstationed settles unperceived,
> The yogic fires burns all things.
> Lo, the depths of mind are difficult to know, so,
> When co-emergence is dissected, it is not there.
>
> Desire for yoga is nothing taught by the master,
> Upon the blessings of the master nothing is gained.
> Lo, the depths of mind are difficult to know, so,
> When co-emergence is dissected, it is not there.
>
> If you desire to seek out glorious, magnificent bliss,
> Desiring to seek the center, you fall blindly down the well.
> Lo, the depths of mind are difficult to know, so,
> When co-emergence is dissected, it is not there.
> The song of Sarahapa is complete.[14]

With some idea of the place of Saraha's songs in the Tibetan Buddhist canon, and a healthy sampling of the diamond-songs of the adepts, we may turn now to what the tradition has to say about the creation of these works.

Saraha the Singer

The classic hagiographic account of Saraha's singing—of the beginnings of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* as an oral song—is found in *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts*. Here as in all other accounts, it is stressed, that Saraha sang his songs not in order to argue some particular doctrine or preserve his poetry for posterity, but rather to bring his disciples to enlightenment. As we have seen, this scene occurs at the close of Saraha's tale and represents the culmination of his spiritual life (on earth, that is). As the Buddha himself gave teachings following his enlightenment, in this hagiography the singing of the *Dohā Trilogy* embodies Saraha's activity as an enlightened being. The act of singing is nothing less than an enlightened act, geared toward liberating his disciples. As the *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts* tells us: "Then all the brahmins and the king paid homage to him and requested spiritual instructions, so he sang songs to the king, the queen, and the people, and these became known as the *Dohā Trilogy*. The brahmins renounced their own teachings and entered into the teachings of the Buddha. The king and his court attained spiritual boons."[15]

Karma Trinlaypa develops a richer account of the initial singing of the

Dohā Trilogy. Here one gets the strong impression that this tale was developed precisely to explain the presence of three distinct *Dohās*, each bearing the name of the group to which Saraha sang: *King*, *Queen*, and *People*. He writes:

> [Saraha], on behalf of the common people, put into song one-hundred and sixty dohā verses and led them onto the correct path. There, on behalf of the king's queens, who had also so beseeched him, he put into song eighty dohā verses, and by these he introduced even them to the purport of how things really are.
>
> Then, because King Mahāpāla himself came to request that [Saraha] resume his former demeanor, on his behalf [Saraha] put into song forty dohā verses and led even the great king upon the path of reality. Among other things [Saraha] sang many diamond-songs, and he accomplished immeasurable benefit for living beings.[16]

We are told very few details from Indian sources regarding Saraha's singing, and even less about the process of putting the songs into writing. We can, however, look to the Tibetan traditions concerning their creation for hints regarding the general circumstances of Saraha's creative efforts and—in proper deference to the fact that these sources are Tibetan, not Indian—for some notion of how Tibetans conceived the origins of these works. More often than not, these traditions speak of Saraha as a singer of songs, but not as a writer. The copying down of the Great Brahmin's inspired aphorisms were seen as the work of his disciples, grand-disciples, and spiritual descendants. In this the work of Saraha bears yet another similarity to that of Kabīr. As Vaudeville writes: "Kabīr's followers . . . do not assert that the Prophet himself wrote down the numerous compositions attributed to him. They hold that he composed them orally and that they were subsequently written by his immediate disciples."[17] This is certainly the view of Karma Trinlaypa, who presents two opinions regarding the creation of the *Dohā Trilogy*: "Some say that while the *Dohā Trilogy* is that which was put into song by the illustrious Saraha, because they were merely the successes of his spiritual experience given voice, they were without division into larger and smaller verses. Because what Saraha spoke was at a later time put into writing by the master Nāgārjuna, the three distinct larger and smaller works came about on the basis of how they were spoken." Others, by contrast, "allege that these works were not even compiled by Nāgārjuna, but that Śabara, upon being liberated by these instructive teachings, composed the three texts for the benefit of Maitripa. The former explanation is authoritative."[18]

If the dohās are not generally considered by Tibetan historians to have been put into writing or redacted by Saraha, then the question remains as to how and why they were recorded. Here Karma Trinlaypa presents us with two scenarios: one in which Saraha's pupil wrote down his songs, and one in which Saraha's grand-pupil writes them. In either case Saraha himself is not characterized as a writer, nor are the three separate songs of his *Dohā Trilogy* understood by Karma Trinlaypa to be the product of Saraha's compositional skills.

There were no divisions between the three *Treasury of Dohā Verses* at the time when Saraha sang them; for Karma Trinlaypa, in fact, the *Dohā Trilogy* did not exist until Saraha's disciple created it. On the contrary, Saraha's mastery lay not in his skill as an author of philosophy, but precisely in his ability to bring his vision to his disciples in an inspiring way through song; the work of writing, editing, and redaction was left to his students. The anonymous *Tales of Dohā Lineages* favors the second alternative claim, although it would have Śabareśvara be the direct disciple of Saraha: "The people reviled and slandered them, so [Saraha] put the *Dohā Trilogy* into song for the sake of the king, the queen, and the common folk. Master Balpo says that at that time Śabara . . . heard Saraha put the *Dohā Trilogy* into song, and set them down in writing."[19] Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa paints a similar picture of the singing of the dohās, embellishing it with the notion that the *Dohā Trilogy* was in fact a presentation of the three bodies of the Buddha. He then notes a very interesting bit of hearsay: "The people beseeched him not to act [contrary to society], so he sang the *People Dohā*, which teaches principally the enlightened body of emanation. The king's queens beseeched him, and he sang the *Queen Dohā*, which teaches principally the enlightened body of enjoyment. The king himself beseeched him, and he sang the *King Dohā*, which teaches principally the enlightened body of dharma. So singing, everyone was liberated, and the kingdom became empty." As an aside, Tsuklak Trengwa also makes reference to the material conditions of the early dohās: "It is said that later the three texts were written on palm leaves and spread after falling into the hands of two brother scribes."[20]

A very different notion of Saraha's role in the creation of the songs emerges in the picture developed by Chomden Raldri in the opening passage of his *Ornamental Flower for the Dohās*: "The Great Brahmin of Southern India, Saraha, heard [the teaching] under the arcane lord Vajrapāṇi, the student of the Buddha Vajradhāra, and under the ḍākinī of primordial awareness, Sukhasiddhī, and composed this text of the *Dohā* . . . [Saraha] taught it to Master Padmavajra, Noble Nāgārjuna, and Śabareśvara. This text is known to have been composed when Master Padmavajra made a request. Even the vocative words such as 'boy' are actually [present] in the [text]."[21] Here Saraha is said to have composed the text of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* for the benefit of his student, Padmavajra. The use of the vocative address is given by Chomden Raldri as proof in support of this claim. For Chomden Raldri, Saraha was indeed the writer of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*; but this does not imply that Saraha was the sole creator of the work or its teachings, for though Raldri does not use such language, it is clear from the following account that for him Saraha was the recipient of a revelation, and thus the dohās were for him a kind of revealed literature. We thus find here a vision of Saraha as a writer, but also of Saraha as a mediator between the realm of enlightened beings and the realm of Buddhist aspirants.

Kongtrul's origin tale of the *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts* and the songs of the adepts also provides an imaginative vision of the transfer of the dohās from voice to the written word. As was seen in an earlier chapter, in Kongtrul's

tale a certain king beseeches the adepts to come and make blessings for his deceased mother. In a cantankerous manner, the magic yogins give a glimpse of their message of enlightenment in song and then quickly depart. According to Kongtrul: "Each adept sang a dohā diamond-song and went back alone to where they had been. Then the king created statues of each adept as representations of them and wrote the dohās of each on the front of them. He then made offerings to [these statues]."[22] Again we see that it was not Saraha and the rest of the adepts who put their songs in writing. This time it is the king who makes the change, who takes the fleeting words of the yogins and immortalizes them in stone. The early formation of the songs did not end there, however, for according to Kongtrul's tale it was in fact no less than the ḍākinīs who taught the songs that were eventually to spread to Tibet in a written format:

> Two ḍākinīs appeared in person to [Vīryaprabha] and taught the dohās, the *Ratnamāla*, and the tales that went with them. He took their meaning into his experience and thus acquired a distinctive realization and became a master among adepts.
>
> [Vīryaprabha] also created a book in which the various dohās were anthologized. He taught it to a scholar named Kamala. [Kamala] taught it to the adept Śabara Jamaripa, who taught it to the scholar form Maghada, Abhayadattaśrī. He composed life stories and a commentary on these dohās, and with the translator of Minyag, Mondrup Sherap in Tibet, translated all of these [teachings], redacted them through explanation and listening, and caused them to spread.[23]

In this and the previous passages, Kongtrul develops an extremely complicated notion of the seminal transmission of the songs of the adepts. First of all, the songs are twice removed from their singers before they are put into writing, for it is the ḍākinīs who teach the songs to Vīryaprabha, and they in turn are presumed to have heard them from the adepts. The manner of their hearing is not spelled out by Kongtrul, however--an omission that makes this early moment in the life of the songs all the more fantastical in this tale. Vīryaprabha, who was not even present when the adepts sang their songs, is here heralded as the anthologizer, the keeper of the book. It is he who allows the songs to be transmitted in a coherent fashion through several Indian scholars until they finally reach the hands of Abhayadattaśrī. And yet Kongtrul does not stop there in his tale of the development and transformation of the songs and life stories of the adepts, for in the process of translating these from their former Indic language in Tibetan, Abhayadattaśrī and his assistant from Minyag, Mondrup Sherap, redacted (*gtan la bab pa*) the songs yet again through the interplay of explanation (*'chad*) and listening (*nyan*).

In Kongtrul's tale, then, the rich life of the songs in both oral and written formats runs through four moments: the initial singing, the teaching of the songs orally, the anthologizing and writing, and finally the redaction and trans-

lation. I believe we can get no closer to a plausible picture of the general circumstances of the creation of the dohās than that developed in this tale from nineteenth-century eastern Tibet.

Saraha and the Anthologies of Phadampa Sangye

I will now expand the discussion of the development of dohā compendia by looking at another tradition in which Saraha figures: the anthologies of tantric songs held to be transmitted to Tibet by Phadampa Sangye. Descriptions within these composite works provide further examples of Tibetan notions of the process of literary formation—from oral composition to written compilation—and a more in-depth view of the late Indic and early Tibetan literary context in which the works of Saraha were brought to Tibet.

The verse anthology is one of the more intriguing literary forms in which the spiritual teachings of early-medieval Indian tantric adepts reached Tibet, not only by virtue of the often beautiful poetry arranged within its various frameworks, but also because of the supporting architecture itself: the rubrications, settings, the plethora of names and epithets, all of which structure readers' engagement with the verse. The larger part of such works entered Tibet thanks to the South Indian teacher Phadampa Sangye. These anthologies present many questions regarding their composition, compilation, translation, and transmission. By introducing a selection of them with a particular focus on their organizational features, passages within the works that describe their own creation, as well as similar passages found in the colophons of the works, this section will explore these questions, with particular attention to the figure of Saraha in the anthologies.

The anthology as such is not unknown in Indian literature, and there are numerous examples of works structurally similar to the collections of tantric songs under discussion here. Perhaps the Pāli language *Theragāthā* and *Therigāthā* (ca. 500–100 BCE), which contain single and multiple verse songs attributed, respectively, to individual monks and nuns, can be considered their distant literary relatives. Numerous anthologies of single verses devoted to secular themes are extant in Prākrit, mostly from Jaina authors, and dated anywhere from the eighth to the fourteenth century.[24] The earliest dated anthology of Sanskrit verse, the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*, was most likely compiled by the Buddhist monk Vidyākara at Jaggadala Monastery in Bengal sometime during the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century—the very era in which Phadampa Sangye was active in Tibet.[25]

The anthology most similar to ours that is still extant in any Indic language is no doubt the *Caryāgītikoṣa*, a collection of fifty songs attributed to many of the same names of later tantric Buddhism as are in Phadampa Sangye's anthologies, dating anywhere from the eighth to the twelfth century,[26] and thus potentially contemporaneous with our collections. Despite their structural similarity, however, no works designated as *caryāgīti* (*spyod pa'i glu*) are to be found in the anthologies of Phadampa Sangye, nor are any of the songs generally

referred to by the Tibetan term *glu*, *mgur* (alternatively *'ghur* in early manuscripts) being the common term for "song." The fact that none of the seventeen anthologies connected with Phadampa Sangye has any Indic witnesses whatsoever makes it impossible to determine whether these works existed in India in the forms in which we find them in the Tibetan Canon.

In terms of their transmission history, the anthologies of verses from tantric adepts found in the Tibetan canonical collections can be divided into two broad groups: those associated with Abhayadattaśrī's *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts*, and those tracing their introduction to Tibet back to Phadampa Sangye, who, according to Go Lotsawa, traveled to Tibet in 1097 and remained there for some twenty years until his death in about 1117.[27] Two anthologies connected to the collection of stories attributed the Abhayadatta are preserved in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Canon, namely the *Heart of Realizations of the Eighty-Four Adepts* attributed to Pawo Osal/*Vīraprabhāsvara,[28] and the *Jewel Garland* attributed to *Dhamadhuma.[29] Though they share structural and topical features with the anthologies of Phadampa Sangye, one crucial difference is that the songs in the anthologies of the Eighty-Four Adepts' were connected by later Tibetan writers to tales of their lives; in the case of Phadampa Sangye's anthologies we find no such hagiographic elaboration.

The majority of tantric song anthologies found in the Tanjur are connected with Phadampa Sangye. A number of these compedia are also found in the first volume of the collected works of Phadampa Sangye and his Tibetan disciples, a five-volume collection entitled *The Profound Oral Lineage Descending from Pacification, the Heart of the Holy Teachings*.[30] Of seventeen anthologies said to be brought from India by Phadampa Sangye, ten are shared between the canon and his collected works,[31] one is found only in the canon, and six are found only in the *Profound Oral Lineage*. Several also found their way into separate collections of songs, hagiographies, and iconographic manuals.

Both verse and prose can be found in the anthologies, though verse is by far the more common form of expression. The four prose works, consisting of the *Orb* trilogy[32] and the *Miraculous Lineage*,[33] are themselves made up of formulaic aphorisms which read almost like verse with an occasional hypermetric line. Of the thirteen verse collections, seven contain "symbolic" songs (*brda mgur*, or in the archaic orthography of the manuscript of the *Profound Oral Lineage*, *brda' 'ghur*), three contain verses called "expressions of realization" (*rtogs brjod*), two contain "diamond-songs" (*rdo rje'i 'ghur*), and finally one contains verses merely referred to as "songs" (*'ghur*) (See appendix 1). Symbolic songs are most often made up of a series of poetic one-liners, riddles whose punch line is a spiritual experience alluded to but never named. When ten or twenty lines of these are strung together, the effect is dizzying, with one—seemingly—unrelated "symbol" or metaphorical expression following upon another, as in the case of this passage from *Precious Symbolic Instructions on the Great Seal*:

> Space and the three thousand [worlds] are inseparable.
> A one-winged bird cannot sail through the sky.

The head and the limbs are part of the same body.
The essence of ice, with stonelike form, is water.
The mirror and the reflection have no difference.[34]

In *Songs of the Glorious Diamond Ḍākinīs,* however, the symbolic songs are more integrated poems in which a single metaphor is developed for several lines. Thus, in the ḍākinī Tamala's song we find not only the forest elephant used as a symbol, but its binding straps, food, ornaments, captivity, and finally escape all employed to symbolize the process of spiritual realization.[35]

"Expressions of realization" are more philosophical in character, employing the terminology common to *Great Seal* works, as well as more straightforward admonitions against incorrect spiritual practices and views of the ultimate, such as Saraha's plea to aspirants not to search anywhere for truth but in one's own mind,[36] or Āryadeva's maligning of the external forms of the four empowerments.[37] While both symbolic songs and expressions of realization are operating under the same apophatic strictures, in which the ultimate realization cannot by definition be named, symbolic songs implicitly put this into practice by talking riddles around the intended subject ("An iron boulder is difficult to roll uphill!"[38]), whereas expressions of realization come right out and exclaim, "you can't call it this, you can't call it that!"

Finally, the "diamond-songs" contained in the *Garland of Golden Droplets* and *Diamond-Songs of the Adepts* stand somewhere between symbolic songs and expressions of realization, in that similes, philosophical language, and admonitory warnings are combined in single verses. Nāgārjuna's verse illustrates this technique well:

The unrealized should not undertake the practices of the realized;
If they do, they are like the commoners doing harm to the king's law.
The realized should not undertake the practices of the unrealized;
If they do, they are like elephants sinking in the mud.[39]

Eleven of the seventeen anthologies share a simple common pattern of organization that consists of an alternating sequence of one-sentence rubrications followed by single- or multiple-verse songs, or prose aphorisms. The rubrics invariably include the name of the performer, be it deity, ḍākinī, adept, and so on, followed by a verbal action, more often than not the phrase "put into song" (*'ghur/mgur du bzhengs*). In cases where only one verse per performer is given, the names make up a significant part of the work, almost overshadowing the songs themselves. With the relatively small amount of philosophic content conveyed in each verse, one is led to wonder what type of connection the reader made between any one verse and a name. A more elaborate system is found in the *Miraculous Lineage*, where six sets of six performers are arranged, each with the same order: king, queens, seers, brahmins, great personages, and ministers. Here the names have an artificial feeling, all composed of the same elements rearranged (such as *ye shes*, *zla ba*, *nyi ma*, *'od zer*, etc.). It is possible that the reading of such names was akin to reading a de-

votional work, such as the liturgical works developed by Tāranātha—and later Kongtrul—around the names of the Eighty-Four Adepts.

Five of the anthologies employ larger sections, referred to variously as *dum bu*, *brul tsho*, *le'u*, or left unspecified (see appendix 1). *Precious Symbolic Instructions* (no. 4) contains six separately titled sections containing smaller sets of single verses from ḍākinīs, with each section in turn said to be compiled by a different ḍākinī. Similarly, *Diamond-Songs of Adepts* contains nine chapters with beautiful titles such as *Eggshell of Unknowing Cracked* or *Splendor of Primordial Awareness Sparkling*, each with forty-one to forty-four single name-and-verse pairs. Finally *Symbolic Songs of the Diamond Ḍākinīs* and *Core Instructions* are subdivided along topical lines, both employing the technical terminology of *Great Seal* teachings.

The anthologies of Phadampa Sangye mention several locations where the songs are said to have initially been sung, some of them well-known in Buddhist history and mythical geography such as Vajrāsana, Gṛdhrakūṭa, others more general locations such as caves, bamboo groves, or famous cities such as Taxila. The most popular setting for the songs, however, is the cremation ground, from which hail single verses in *Symbolic Lineage of the Great Sea* and *Precious Symbolic Instructions on the Great Seal*, and in which the entirety of *Songs of the Glorious Diamond Ḍākinīs*, *Realization Expressions of the Thirty-Five Ḍākinīs*, and *Diamond-Songs of the Adepts* are said to have been sung. Phadampa Sangye gives us a brief characterization of the cremation grounds and the lands surrounding them in the introductory passage to *Diamond-Songs of the Adepts*, calling it "a region difficult for humans to travel, a village where ghouls and zombies wander, a place where the inhuman of the earth wander, the place of the action ḍākinīs, [where] Death's hair horripilates and the demons are dread-filled upon sight of it."[40] In literary terms, the cremation ground was also taken up as a poetic topic in its own right in twelfth-century India, as can be seen by the macabre section devoted to it in Vidyākara's own verse anthology, the *Jewel Treasury of Elegant Sayings* (*Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*), where ghouls, corpse-eating birds,[41] and zombies rule the night.[42]

Two of these anthologies, *Songs of the Glorious Diamond Ḍākinīs* and *Realization Expressions of the Thirty-Five Ḍākinīs*, mention the well-known gathering of tantric singers and aspirants, the *gaṇacakra*, at which, in these two cases, ḍākinīs are each requested to sing a verse for the group. Here the initial moment of composition occurs in a group setting in which, from what little is said in this regard, the purpose of singing songs is to inspire one's peers and instill faith in the teachings. In the first of these anthologies, two or possibly three types of ḍākinīs are present: ḍākinīs of action (*las kyi mkha' 'gro*) prepare for the gathering by killing a young prince for the feast, and ḍākinīs of primordial awareness (*ye shes kyi mkha' 'gro*) are then invited, and from among the latter ḍākinīs reality's noblewomen (*dbyings kyi gtso mo*) are invited to sing. Several other anthologies state more generally that the songs contained therein were sung, if not composed, when reality's noblewomen convened for discussion, once again characterizing the anthology as a group exercise in spirituality.

It is not until the final anthology, the *Compared Mind-Experiences of Twenty-One Male and Female Yogic Practitioners*, set in a gathering of Phadampa Sangye's Tibetan disciples, which was no doubt based upon the vision of the Indic *gaṇacakra* portrayed in the previous collections, that we find a more concrete explanation of the motives for adepts singing to each other: simply because the songs of many aspirants collected together in one place and time are a cause for great joy.[43] Though ḍākinīs are by far the most common singers in these collections, other figures are present as well, including yogic practitioners both male and female in the *Orb* trilogy, deities in the *Symbolic Lineage*, adepts and masters in *Arcane Songs of the Mind*, and kings, queens, minister, and brahmins in the *Miraculous Lineage*. It thus appears that few social groups (real, mythic, or both) were excluded from having their names counted among the singers of spiritual verse (see appendix 1).

According to the anthologies themselves, the compilation of the songs fell to various hands. In both *Arcane Songs of the Mind* and *Diamond-Songs of the Adepts* it was the ḍākinīs who are said to have compiled the songs of adepts, masters, and male and female yogic practitioners. The songs of kings, queens, and other social groups of the *Miraculous Lineage* are also said to have been compiled by ḍākinīs. Curiously, however, none of the songs composed by the ḍākinīs were then compiled by them. Phadampa Sangye is said to be the compiler of the *Symbolic Lineage*, the singers of which Go Lotsawa later characterizes as deities whom Phadampa Sangye had encountered in visions.[44] He is also held to be the compiler of the *Orb* trilogy, two of which he passed directly to his disciple Kunga.

In no fewer than seven cases, the process of compilation is associated not exclusively with oral performance, but with writing as well. The *Symbolic Lineage* and the *Miraculous Lineage* both contain interlinear notes stating that Phadampa Sangye wrote them down on white paper and subsequently brought them to Tibet. This notion raises many questions about the material life of this literature, for according to Diringer the oldest datable Indic paper manuscript is dated 1231,[45] over a hundred years after Phadampa Sangye's death, and paper is not known to have been in use before the eleventh century in India. This fact would put Phadampa Sangye's works at the beginning of this trend in writing technology. Certainly the more common writing material was the palm leaf (*tāla*), a word that Tibetans merely transliterated when referring to this type of book, and were it not for the consistent use of the word "paper" (*shog*) in all of the anthologies that mention writing material, palm leaf would be the assumed material for a manuscript of this time. Still more curious is the mention of a paper scroll (*shog dril*) at the close of *Symbolic Songs of the Diamond Ḍākinīs*, for this form of book was by all accounts unknown in India.[46] One possible answer to this puzzle is that Phadampa Sangye came across these book technologies in China,[47] where he is said to have traveled in between his stays at Dingri.[48] Alternatively, we might suspect that the terms "paper" and "paper scroll" are used either figuratively or inaccurately in the notices to the anthologies.

The introductory note to the *Silver Orb*, the first work in the *Orb* trilogy,

tells us that the work was contained in a book on whose cover was written *Collected Explanations of the Stainless Crystal Orb*, thus suggesting that these three works existed as an independent written work before their inclusion in the *Profound Oral Lineage*. Finally, at least two of the anthologies tell us in introductory passages that the ḍākinīs themselves had a hand in the writing down; *Arcane Songs of the Mind* states that the ḍākinīs wrote down songs of the eighty male and female adepts, and *Diamond-Songs of the Adepts* (no.14) says that the ḍākinīs wrote the songs of the yogins down on white paper with "unforgettable formulas" (*mi bsnyel ba'i gzungs*). It is clear that in this tradition the written word was important in its own right and was considered an important aid for people in religious pursuits. That both reading and writing were valued is made especially clear in *Diamond-Songs of the Adepts*, in which the stated purpose for the ḍākinīs writing the songs down is the benefit of later generations, and at the close of which Phadampa Sangye prays that doubts will be eased merely by the reading of these songs.[49]

Finally, seven of the anthologies (nos. 3, 6–10, and 12) are said to come from a larger entity referred to only as the *Arcane Treasury* (*Gsang mdzod*), alternatively known as the *Arcane Treasury of the Ḍākinīs*, a collection that never seems to be mentioned on its own terms, but rather as that out of which the smaller collections originate. It is thus never clear whether the *Arcane Treasury* is a material collection, a more abstract categorization of teachings, a poetic epithet of the songs of the ḍākinīs, adepts, and masters, or perhaps some combination of all three. In the *Miraculous Lineage* we are told that thirty-two of thirty-six songs were initially contained within something called a red notice (*dmar byang*)[50] within the *Arcane Treasury*, to which four songs were later added. Here the notion of treasury has a decidedly physical feeling. The paper scroll on which *Symbolic Songs of the Ḍakinīs* is said to have been written is also contained in the *Arcane Treasury*, as is the written work *Arcane Songs of the Mind*. Whatever the case, the *Arcane Treasury* can be loosely conceived of as the body of teachings out of which (however metaphorically this might be read) reality's noblewomen drew the teachings they sought fit to bestow upon Phadampa Sangye.[51]

Zhama Lotsawa Tonpa Senge Gyalpo is mentioned as translator at the close of eight out of the seventeen anthologies (nos.1, 4–8, 10, and 12), and it appears that he conducted all of his work at Phadampa Sangye's Tibetan residence of Dingri Langkhor. It is unfortunate that we as yet have no record of the language spoken by Phadampa Sangye or the languages in which the anthologies were written down. In a way we thus owe any sense we might make out of this sometimes nonsensical verse to the efforts of Zhama Lotsawa. Phadampa Sangye himself is the stated translator of *Diamond-Songs of the Adepts*, curiously also the only anthology found exclusively in the Tibetan canon and not in the *Profound Oral Lineage*.

Saraha first appears in the Orb series of anthologies. The *Pure Silver Orb*, located only in the *Profound Oral Lineage*, is an anthology of brief prose aphorisms from fifty-four male and female adepts. It forms a trilogy with the *Pure Golden Orb* and the *Pure Crystal Orb*, both also containing prose aphorisms

and verse of fifty-four male and female adepts, although each set of fifty-four is slightly different (as the comparative table in appendix 2 shows). From the note at the beginning of the *Silver Orb* we can gather that this trilogy existed before its inclusion in the *Profound Oral Lineage*, as a separate volume entitled the *Collected Explanations of the Stainless Crystal Orb*. The introductions to each work relate something regarding their compilation: The *Silver Orb* states that these sayings were compiled by Phadampa Sangye, the *Golden Orb* tells us that "the great lord of yogis, glorious Mipham Gonpo [Phadampa Sangye] was in harmony with the realizations of the fifty-four male and female yogic practitioners. He spoke of the increase of [his] experience in simple words, and put it down in writing."[52]

The *Crystal Orb* takes pains to claim that the work is an exact duplicate of Phadampa Sangye's words, free from any interpolation on the part of the translator, Zhama Lotsawa. The teachings contained are passed on "like the continuity from one butter lamp to another," as the introduction to the collection tells us. The songs of Saraha and the other fifty-three adepts it contains "were spoken from the warm harvest of Padampa Sangye himself through the heat of appropriate means and auspicious coincidence, with no intervening interpolation in the words of the translator, just like they were copied from one piece of paper to another."[53]

Arcane Songs of the Mind, another anthology said to come from the *Arcane Treasury*, contains single four-line verses from eighty male and female adepts. It was, according to its colophon, "put down in writing by the ḍākinīs, and from the *Arcane Treasury* was granted to Padampa Sangye as the noblewomen of reality convened." In contrast to symbolic verse, these pithy sayings use the more straightforward technical terminology of the Great Seal teachings and are quite similar to the dohā songs attributed to Abhayadatta's eighty-four adepts. This, and the fact that many of the adepts' names are shared in both collections, are no doubt the reasons that it was later included in the *Teaching Cycles of the Eighty-Four Adepts*. The work begins with a verse from the Great Brahmin, Saraha:

> Hey, the root of samsara and nirvana is the mind's nature,
> Realizing this, [you] must, without meditation, settle [yourself] fully, without artifice.
> Settled in oneself, Oh what a mistake it is to search elsewhere.
> [This is] the natural state, without [talk like] "This is it, this isn't."

If Saraha's verses are cited individually in the anthologies of Phadampa Sangye, he is also the only adept to whose teachings an entire anthology is dedicated. Saraha's *Core Instruction* consists of seven symbolic teachings (*brda' bstan pa*)[54] arranged in what appears to be an expanded variant on the fivefold scheme found in *Symbolic Songs of the Diamond Ḍākinīs*. The first verse from the work runs as follows:

> Homage to glorious Heruka.
> The ḍākinī's blessing is a symbol of realization.

Like a cure of spells pronounced,
The peacock's food is not [that] of others.
The sesame is illuminated by the lamp.
Sandal is the scent of the deer's musk-sack.
Waves of water are the ocean itself.
Then nature of clarity is like white cotton.
[Though it] cannot produce a mountain,
The snowy mountain is nothing but water.
The odor and the garlic are no different.
The quality of [both] sun and moon is clarity.
Do not search for the footprint of a bird.
The directions of the maṇḍala are equal.
The sky is no topic for the sophist.
The zombie is like a jewel in the land of activity.
Incomparable is the miraculous crystal jewel.
A symbolic instruction by the great hunter Saraha to Kamalaśīla.[55]

Given that it is the only work in the corpus dedicated to a single figure, *Core Instruction* is included here as an anthology with some hesitation. Yet in terms of how the compilers have arranged the work, it bears close similarity to the others. It is organized into individual poems, which are in turn divided into separate chapters that close with Saraha's name, all lending the work a composite feel. *Core Instruction* closes with the intriguing statement that these teachings were given directly to Phadampa Sangye (alias Kamalaśīla), a statement that puts the modern reader in a historiographic quandary. Of course, all of the anthologies make some claim of a direct link between Phadampa Sangye and the adepts. He appears to have met them all. Yet to "meet" the masters is in a sense to have shared in their tradition.

Diamond-Songs of the Adepts: The Shining Suchness of All Yogins is the only collection attributed to Phadampa Sangye found in the Tibetan canon and not found in the *Profound Oral Lineage*. Containing nine chapters, each containing forty-one to forty-four verses, it is by far the longest of the anthologies. Within each beautifully titled chapter[56] each verse is associated with one male or female adept whose name is always accompanied by an epithet, such as "Huluka, Yoginī of Self-liberated Thought," "Matila the River Yogin," or "Earnest Junutari Steeped in Primordial Awareness." The introductory passage of *Diamond-Songs of the Adepts* contains the fullest description of the mythical landscape of phantasmagoria in which these songs were situated, a land of zombies and ḍākinīs:

> The wheel of teachings is the ultimate in the accumulation of merit, [teachings by which] sentient beings, the cause, are without regression in the two accumulations, the path on which buddhahood, the result, is obtained. The place where it is turned is a region difficult for humans to travel, a village where ghouls and zombies wander, a place where the inhuman of the earth wander, the place of the action ḍakinīs, [where] Death's hair horripilates and the demons are

> dread-filled upon sight of it. At the eight great cremation grounds, the yogins of perfected realization and the yogins whose minds are purified in unborn reality assembled, and then the certain knowledge of the the ultimate truth that had been born in the minds of each one, whatever introductions to the co-emergence of the natural meaning, the primordial awareness existing in each, and the realizations dawning from anywhere were put into songs of experience as the offering ceremony was blessed. With unforgettable formulas the ḍakinīs at that place such as *Sukhaśrībhadrī (*su kha ta skal ba bzang mo*) set them down in writing on white paper for the benefit of later generations.[57]

Here, in a most specific statement of purpose, we are also told that in this case it was the ḍākinīs who wrote down the teachings of the yogins, using unforgettable formulas (*mi bsnyel ba'i gzungs*) to preserve them for the future faithful. This picture stands in contrast to the more common scene, in which Phadampa Sangye or some other master writes down the songs of the ḍākinīs. Finally, in a verse following the colophon, we are told that these teachings were rolled up (*'gril*), a turn of phrase reminiscent of the scroll (*shog dril*) in which *Symbolic Songs of the Diamond Ḍākinīs* was said to be contained.

From Saraha to Tradition

As much as anything, Saraha is heralded by his Tibetan hagiographers as a singer, a poet of enlightenment drinking in the sky. To kings, queens, and common people he sang of his spiritual experience—a bard from the other side, from the realm of the ḍākinīs. His songs represent the culmination of his spiritual career and are the ultimate means by which he expressed his enlightenment and brought his disciples along the path. And yet the power of the act of singing is not merely something over which Saraha and the adepts of old held sway. Songs were not just to be sung by masters teaching disciples, by Saraha preaching to kings and queens. They were in fact means to teach oneself, to sing to oneself about one's true nature; the self-exhortations of Nāropa in his *Diamond-Song* could in turn be internalized by any member of the tradition. Advayavajra exhorts the readers of his commentary on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* to sing the songs he appends to that of Saraha—precisely in order to reach realization:

> Nondual diamond-songs,
> Showing the primordial awareness of suchness—
> With these nondual words of ultimate meaning,
> Sing, people, songs for yourselves.[58]

Despite the importance laid upon song in the *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts* and other hagiographies, very few of the dohās and diamond-songs themselves attributed to Saraha are reflective of the song as a medium of spiritual teaching.

Nevertheless, the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* itself does have something to say on the topic of singing:

> Fools, know all these words spoken by Saraha.
> The nature of the innate cannot be told with words,
> Yet the instructions of the master may be seen with the eye.
> Delighting in both dharma and nondharma, partake;
> In these there is not a speck of evil.
> When the innate mind has been purified,
> The enlightened qualities of the master will enter your heart.
> Realizing so, Saraha sings this song,
> Though he has not seen a single mantra, a single tantra.[59]

The first two lines of this passage embody the contradiction inherent in any attempt to speak of a spiritual experience which is by definition inexpressible. The words spoken by Saraha entail their own undoing, for as is seen time and time again, the predominantly apophatic rhetoric of Buddhism cannot help but turn to kataphatic declarations describing either the ultimate enlightened state directly or, more obliquely, the power of language about the enlightened state. The reader must know the words of Saraha despite the fact that his subject is ineffable. In an ironic twist, the power of Saraha's words is precisely their message of ineffability. This seems ultimately to debase the power of the word, and yet the final lines suggest something more; it is not the written word of the tantras that holds the power to express the inexpressible, but song itself. Much as the tales of his life tell us, the realization of the enlightened state encourages Saraha not to write another treatise, another commentary, but to inspire others through the medium of song, which stands above the ordinary language of treatises and tantras.

It is perhaps this claim that gave the commentators on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* license to write according to the meaning of the dohās as taught by the masters and not according to the letter. The rhetoric of creative orality that both the songs and tales proffer is strongly stated by the commentators on Saraha's *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. As Advaya Avadhūti makes very clear, since the enlightened state—described in dohā commentarial literature as the essential meaning (*snying po'i don, sārārtha*)—is by nature ineffable, then the words of the dohās are merely indicators of the truth, not the truth itself. He writes:

> The essential meaning is not an object of thought, so
> Even though someone like me speaks in words, they are far
> from the meaning.
> Words have no connection to the meaning. Nonetheless
> Through this commentary on meaning, which relies on the lamp
> of spiritual memory,
> May [you] not rely on the texts of non-Buddhists and others.[60]

And again:

> Others explain by commenting in accordance with the root [verses] of the text.
> My tradition writes the root in accordance with the explanation.
> Though we may not remember the scriptural words of the baskets,
> Mantras and tantras are not completed by writing the words of the scriptures.
> Relying only upon the mental-spiritual inspiration of Glorious Śabarapāda,
> I shall write this mnemonic of a drop of the ambrosia of [Śabara's] speech,
> For the benefit of myself and the faithful like me,
> Summarizing only the instructions on the meaning.[61]

This passage provides a strong defense for the primacy of the master's oral instructions over the written word, in conformity with the general tantric rhetoric of orality. And yet here Advaya Avadhūti stretches the limits of his derogatory remarks on written teachings by claiming that since the essential meaning lies not in the words themselves, then even Saraha's dohās themselves, the source-text of his commentarial efforts, can be rewritten in conformity with the oral teachings of his immediate master, Śabara. The implications of this idea will be detailed in the following chapter 7, but for now it is sufficient to emphasize that this gives Advaya Avadhūti himself, and other commentators after him, the license to change, rearrange, and transform Saraha's words himself. In short, Advaya Avadhūti gives himself permission to "author" the words of Saraha by claiming that the real message of Saraha is not any text of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* but rather in the meaning that lives in the hearts of the masters who have realized the message of the dohā.

This chapter has surveyed a series of related bodies of literature. The variety displayed above is in fact indicative of the variety to be met with in the three volumes of the Tanjur that make up the *Commentaries on the General Intentions of the Highest Yoga Tantras*, for almost all of the poetic songs translated here come from this section. I have not endeavored here to look at the songs as philosophy, but as religious literature with a historical development and identifiable generic features. The anthologies funneled through Phadampa Sangye should in the future be an integral part of any discussion of the dohās and diamond-songs: In a single anthology are contained more diamond-songs than are separately listed in the Tanjur, and there are seventeen such anthologies!

The central point to understand here is that these songs were almost exclusively held by the creators of tradition to have been orally composed, and only later written down. Saraha, the adepts, the ḍākinīs, kings, and queens—a whole social universe of enlightened beings—all sang diamond-songs as an expression of realization. But this is not to belittle the power of writing: The ḍākinīs, Phadampa Sangye, Karma Trinlaypa, and others all allow the impor-

tance of writing for the perpetuation of the dohās, for the benefit of later spiritual seekers. Even Advaya Avadhūti makes his critique of the written word not in another song, but in a written commentary. Orality is praised as the medium of the adepts, but writing and rewriting are the acknowledged lifeblood of tradition. It is to issues of writing and redaction that we now turn.

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7

Recreating the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*

This *Dohākoṣa* was compiled completely, just as it was found, according to the stages of the ultimate concern.

—fragmentary *Dohākoṣa* manuscript, dated 1101

The literary corpus of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* is a product of the Indian, Nepalese, and Tibetan traditions that transmitted, interpreted, taught, and practiced differing versions of the Great Brahmin's teachings. Variations in length, vocabulary, organization, metrical division, translation style, and interpretive emphasis were inherent to the transmission of the *Dohākoṣa*, and likewise variations in the narrative retellings of the life of Saraha were a vital aspect of his popularity in Tibetan hagiographic traditions. The transformations of the poem in Apabhraṃśa as well as in Tibetan translation are signs of life, signs of a vibrant history of experiential, scholastic, and polemic and material involvement with the work by members of the traditions in which it was handed down both orally and textually. The "author" of the *Dohākoṣa* is not merely the historical Saraha, but rather the tradition-at-large, whose members were constantly reconfiguring the work itself and the life story of its creator.

The promotion of one version of a variable work such as this as more original and thus more valid or authentic is a misrepresentation of the place it holds in its traditions of transmission, for active participants in a literary tradition are the heart and soul of the living work of poetry. This is particularly so in the case of orally transmitted works, for which live performance is essential. But it must not be underestimated in the case of textually transmitted works, where variance and interpretive malleability may act as catalysts for creative

engagement with the work by members of the tradition, be they scholiasts composing exegeses on the text, instructors ad-libbing during a teaching based on a memorized text, or bards elaborating a song with partial reference to a manuscript tradition.[1] This chapter thus seeks not to sift through the debris of tradition in order to uncover some original text containing the intended message of the historical Saraha, but rather to illustrate through close readings that variation is an inherent, important, and even conscious aspect of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*'s transmission from South Asia to Tibet.

The recognition and acceptance of variation as a primary aspect of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* has led me to look at the formation of text, meaning, practice, and tradition as a creative process, the study of which must attend to the reasons and mechanisms of variation. This process is particularly evident as embodied in the commentarial enterprise, a process that often entailed changing the verse itself. That the commentator is no mere passive conduit of ideas, but rather an active participant in the creation of the work, is rather obvious, but the ways in which the commentators have transformed the very work they have explicated is often less obvious. The ensuing discussion will be devoted to bringing this traditional creativity to the fore of current research on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* and related works.

This chapter will offer three examples of these issues. It will first look at the earliest Apabhraṃśa fragment of a *Treasury of Dohā Verses* attributed to Saraha. Second, it will detail the many changes wrought in the verses by the redactor/commentator responsible for the *Extensive Commentary*.[2] Finally, it will show how Ling Repa Pema Dorje radically rearranged the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* to meet the needs of his exegetical program. These three moments of reworking all occurred in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, although in different contexts: The first example is an Apabhraṃśa manuscript from Nepal containing dohās attributed to Saraha, the second is a commentary (pretending to be) an Indic work, and the final example is one of the earliest indigenous Tibetan commentaries.

A Fragmentary Dohā from Nepal

As was seen in the last chapter, the history of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* reveals moments of each of these types of development. We have only to look at the oldest witness to dohās attributed to Saraha to see that they were preserved and transmitted in a state of fragmentation and variation as far back as we can see through textual history. In other contexts of Indian traditions of religious poetic song, variation was the norm. From their inception medieval Hindi devotional songs were variable creations, able to be sung to different *rāgas*, with stanzas moved about, vocabulary altered, and dialect transposed.[3] Similarly, the corpus of dohā songs attributed to Kabīr has been shown to have developed through emulation, interpolation, and borrowing.[4] Manuscript witnesses of similar songs cannot be neatly ordered into a stemmatic tree, since they are in fact witnesses to a bardic tradition of innovative transmission. The

creators and performers of the Buddhist dohā songs very likely were transmitting their literature along similar lines. With the aid of the insights gained from studying these traditions, we can make some suggestions about the workings of variation found in the Apabhraṃśa dohā songs and about the prehistory, so to speak, of our extant witnesses.

The oldest Apabhraṃśa fragments of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, or more properly of *a Treasury of Dohā Verses*, tells us much about the life of the verses attributed to Saraha.[5] It is in fact the single most important Indic document that attests to the methods by which the Buddhist *Dohākoṣas* were transmitted in India and Nepal, for it shows that the dohās attributed to Saraha were already manifold and varied by the dawn of the twelfth century.[6] P. C. Bagchi located this fragmentary manuscript in the Darbar Library of Kathmandu[7] in 1929.[8] It is dated 221 Nepal Saṃvat, or 1101 CE, and is thus the oldest *Dohākoṣa* witness known today. In the colophon to the fragment we read of three people involved in its creation: "This *Dohākoṣa* was compiled completely, just as it was found, according to the stages of the ultimate concern, by the scholar Siri Divāarcanda in 1101, full moon of Śrāvaṇa. This book, [belonging to] Paramopāsaka Śrī Rāmavarmmaṇa, was copied just as it was by the Buddhist monk, the Elder Pathamagupta, at Śrī Nogvalaka.[9]" According to this passage the manuscript was compiled at the dawn of the twelfth century, in 1101. This dating strongly suggests that there existed manuscripts from which these verses were compiled in the eleventh century, bringing us to perhaps the earliest period of the flourishing of the dohās in Nepal. Nogvalaka is most likely the modern-day Nugaḥ/Nugal, a district of Patan. Here is a rough translation of the majority of the difficult verses contained in the fragment, to which I will look briefly for clues of the creation of *Dohākoṣas*:

Break the bonds of attachment with the words of the mentor.
The ear does not hear, [is not] seen by the eye. (3)

When the wind blows, it does not tremble.
When the fire burns, it is not burnt. (4)

It rains much; it is not soaked,
It is not abandoned, entered, it does not decay. (5)

It does not exist, is not pointed out, does not move,
It is known as a single taste, co-emergent bliss. (6)

The Supreme Lord has not risen to stand in the center, and he does not see it.
Worship the master [as] Vajradhara; you won't enter samsara. (7)

It is to be known at the master's feet; Ha Ha Ha! he says.
Listen. His sound comes to the ear from the other side.[10] (8)

The master does not speak it with words, the student does not know it.
The whole world is co-emergent immortal nectar;
Who tells this to whom? (9)[11]

> The fruit of suchness is understood by oneself, Sarahapāda says.
> What stands in the realm of the mind is not the ultimate concern.
> (10)[12]
>
> These verses which were lost or destroyed on the heart-meaning. . . .
> Were collected here from three dohās composed by Saraha. (12)[13]

The first thing to point out is that none of these verses is to be found in the other *Dohākoṣas* that we currently possess. These are completely unique dohās. There are also terms in this dohā that do not occur in the other Apabhraṃśa dohās, most notably *vajradhara* and *hia-attha*—the "heart-meaning." This term was of course to become the name by which Saraha's teachings as a whole were known in the later commentarial work, as exemplified by both the *Commentary on the Heart-Meaning of the Treasury of Dohā Verses* by Avadhūti, and the *Extensive Commentary* attributed to Advayavajra (which we will look at more closely in the next section).

The second point worth noting is that the final verse is clearly an explanation of the process by which this small collection came to be. This verse must be the work of a compiler, working at the beginning of the twelfth century, or possibly in the eleventh. The colophon recapitulates the basic message of the last verse, namely that these dohās were collected and presented on the basis of various older verses. If we take the two together, we can surmise that the compiler was working to organize a collection of fragmentary verses in an orderly manner, under the rubric of the "stages of ultimate concern," that is, under a philosophical scheme in which a group of semi-related verses would form a more systematic spiritual theme. We can discern something of what the compiler was trying to do; verses three through seven are all examples of the apophatic nature of the experience of realization, verses eight and nine emphasize that the guru is the only authentic source for teachings on realization, and verse ten speaks of the fruit, the final result of spiritual practice. The author of the last verse also mentions that he worked from three dohā collections, a number that resonates with the concept of Saraha's *Dohā Trilogy* as it was developed in Tibet.[14]

This fragment thus provides us with a very early example of creative involvement with the teachings of Saraha on the part of later members of the tradition.[15] Yet a cursory statistical comparison of the Apabhraṃśa *Dohākoṣas* and the free-standing Tibetan canonical version shows clearly that the work of the compiler from Nuwakot was not an isolated phenomenon. The *Dohākoṣa* edited by Bagchi was extracted from the *Commentary on Difficult Points* by Advayavajra. This version contains 112 verses. The *Dohākoṣa* filmed at Sakya by Sāṃkṛtyāyana contains 164 verses.[16] The standard Tibetan version contains approximately 134 verses.[17] Eighty-one verses are completely unique to the Sakya manuscript;[8] thirteen verses are unique to the Tibetan translation, and one verse occurs only in the *Dohākoṣa* as found in Advayavajra's commentary. The Sakya manuscript and the Tibetan translation share five verses not found anywhere else. Forty-eight verses are shared by the Advayavajra's *Dohākoṣa* and

the Tibetan translation. And none of these, it must be remembered, is to be found in the fragment translated above.

The examples could be multiplied at length, and not merely within the corpus of works attributed to Saraha. The *Dohākoṣa* of Tilopa shares at least two verses with the *Dohākoṣas* of Saraha. One verse is exactly the same but for one detail: Saraha's name is replaced with that of Tilopa.[19] Another, as we have seen, is shared between the oldest fragment of dohās attributed to Saraha and a passage of Tilopa's *Dohākoṣa* found only in Tibetan translation.[20] Even the *Hevajra-tantra* itself has an Apabhraṃśa verse in common with the *Dohākoṣa*—attributed here to the *bhagavān*, Buddha, the primordial source of the tantric teachings on which the dohās are based.[21] And to make matters more interesting, it is evident that there is a direct relation between the Tibetan translations of the verse in the two works. Witness the similarity of the Tibetan verses:

der ni thog ma dbus mtha' med //
srid med mya ngan 'das pa med //
'di ni mchog tu bde chen nyid //
bdag med gzhan yang med pa nyid //
(*Hevajra-tantra* II.v. 68)

der ni thog ma dbus[22] *mtha' med //*
ji srid[23] *mya ngan 'das pa min //*
bde ba chen po mchog 'di la //
bdag dang gzhan du[24] *yod ma yin //*
(*Treasury of Dohā Verses*, lines 111–114)

It is more than coincidence that the Tibetan translation of this verse is essentially the same in the famous tantra and in the *Treasury*: The translators must have known that this verse occurred in both works, and they utililized them in rendering the Indic verse into Tibetan. If one thing is clear, it is that the Apabhraṃśa versions of the *Dohākoṣa* are every bit as varied as those found in Tibetan. It is to the most striking example of change and adaptation in the Tibetan tradition of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* that we now turn.

Reworking Verse with Commentary

As was seen in an earlier chapter, the *Extensive Commentary* on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* attributed to Advayavajra has been the focus of criticism by early Tibetan commentators on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. Recall the comments of Chomden Raldri on this topic, for he provides the crucial statement of doubt as to the authority of this commentary. He writes:[25] "A commentary on this text was composed by the Teacher, Mokṣākaragupta, and while it appears that [the commentary composed by] the so-called Advayavajra was translated by Vairocana, there is a document which says that [the work] was composed by

Kor Nirūpa and then rumored to have been made by Avadhūta Maitri, and [the verses] dissimilar to the actual root *Dohā* verses were composed by Śabareśvara." As I suggested in chapter 6, I believe that Chomden Raldri is in fact referring to the *Extensive Commentary*, said in the colophon to the canonical version to have been translated by Prajñāśrījñānakīrti, a name which is in turn linked with Kor Nirūpa. Three of the names mentioned by Chomden Raldri—Advayavajra, Maitri, and Śabareśvara—are met with in the *Extensive Commentary* itself.

We will probably not find out just who the final creator of the *Extensive Commentary* was. Saraha, Śabareśvara, Kor Nirūpa, a nameless redactor, another translator altogether—there are just too many variables and too little documentation. Yet this should not distract us from an appreciation of the "author's" contribution to the dohā literature. This massive work, whose full title may be rendered *The Extensive Commentary on the Totally Arcane Song of the Inexhaustible Treasury which Elucidates the Natural Reality*, is at once the most distanced from the canonical *Treasury of Dohā Verses* among the four Indic commentaries contained in the Tibetan canonical collections, and the most creative and lively. The author has achieved the latter primarily through two methods. First, he has reworked, expanded, and adapted the verses of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. Second, he has spiced up his exegesis of the verses by integrating didactic narratives into the early sections of the commentary, tales that illustrate the failings of the non-Buddhists critiqued in the first several dozen lines of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. I will first describe the general features of this version of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* and will then move on to several specific examples of the verse variation and narrative commentary.

The version of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* in the *Extensive Commentary* is the largest of which we are currently aware. It contains 769 lines of verse, or 228 more than the standard canonical Tibetan version, with its 541 lines. Of these, 205 lines are unique, not met with in any other version of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. If we compare the other way, looking from the canonical version to Kor Nirūpa's version, we see that the canonical version has a mere 27 unique lines not shared by the *Extensive Commentary*'s version. Most significantly, 126 lines are identical in the two versions. Now, on the basis of the periodization that was developed in the last chapter, Kor Nirūpa followed Balpo Asu by some half a century, Balpo flourishing in the early to mid-eleventh century, and Kor Nirūpa in the late eleventh to early twelfth century. Given this chronology, I suggest that the 126 identical lines, as well as a host of nearly identical lines, show that Kor Nirūpa (or whoever translated/redacted the *Extensive Commentary*) knew of Balpo's translation and employed it when fashioning his own Tibetan text. I hope this will become apparent in the following pages.

Before moving on to specific examples and comparisons, let us map out some basic ways in which a text might be changed within the scenario I have set forth—that is, one translator/redactor used an older translation as the basis for his own. In brief, four types of changes can take place: (1) a single word can be changed; (2) a phrase can be changed; (3) whole lines can be added or removed; (4) whole lines can be rearranged. Any of these could happen for a

variety of reasons, including *metri causa*, scribal error, and—most interestingly—a redactor's interpretation or expansion on a theme. In the *Extensive Commentary*, the most common reason is, as we shall see, the last.

In terms of the argument set forth previously, that the *Extensive Commentary* was the work of the Tibetan master Kor Nirūpa, the most relevant changes made in the verses of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* are visually inspired changes that could have been made only on the basis of a Tibetan manuscript. These transformations of word and meaning are based on Tibetan orthography, and in particular that of the *dbu med* cursive script. It is highly unlikely that they are the result of changes in the Apabhraṃśa manuscripts. As I hope the next few examples will show, visually inspired changes suggest that the verses were redacted and the commentary was written by a Tibetan using Balpo Asu's translation.

The first example occurs at the outset of the work. Here *gyi na* in the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* becomes *sgyu ma* in the *Extensive Commentary*.

> gyi na rig byed bzhi dag 'don //
> [They] vainly recite the fourVedas.
> (*Treasury of Dohā Verses*, line 6)

> <u>sgyu ma'i</u> rig byed bzhi dag <u>ni</u> //[26]
> The four Vedas of illusion. . . .
> (*Extensive Commentary*, line 9)

Gyi na renders Apabhraṃśa *eva hi*, while *sgyu ma*, illusion, translates Apabhraṃśa *māā/māyā*, and it is thus highly unlikely that this change was made in the Apabhraṃśa stage. Furthermore, the commentarial portion of the *Extensive Commentary* supports comments specifically on *sgyu ma*, not *gyi na: de dag gi bya ba'i rim pa ni nus pa mi 'byin cing yid brtan du mi rung ba ste sgyu ma'o //*.[27] This reveals that the presence of *sgyu ma* in the verse is not simply a scribal error unrelated to the commentary; the author of the commentary not only knew of this reading of the text, he integrated it into his commentary. We thus have a change in the text that almost certainly occurred when it was already available in Tibetan. It was then subsequently incorporated into a commentary, one that in turn was most likely also composed in Tibetan.

Let us look at several other examples of this phenomenon. Line 71 of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* reads:

> bstan bcos snying la 'chad pa'ang de yin no //.

In line 139 of the *Extensive Commentary* this passage becomes:

> bstan bcos <u>sems</u> la <u>bshad cing go bar nges</u> //.

Now, the Apabhraṃśa versions of this passage read *purāṇe*, "ancient texts," which should be *rnying* in Tibetan. *Snying*, "heart," represents a misreading of *rnying* at an early phase of the Tibetan transmission, and it has remained in all subsequent Tibetan versions and commentaries.[28] The *Extensive Commen-*

tary takes this misreading and turns it into a rereading; *snying,* “heart,” becomes *sems,* “mind.”[29]

Elsewhere we find Tibetan *yod* (Apabhraṃśa *bhābai*), the existential verb, rendered as *yid,* “egoic awareness” (Apabhraṃśa *maṇa*). The verse

> yi ge med las ’chad par yod ’dod pa //
> (*Treasury of Dohā Verses,* line 201)

becomes in the *Extensive Commentary* (line 311):

> yi ge med la chad pa’i yid ‘jug pa //

As with previous examples, this new reading, in which *‘chad* becomes *chad* and *yod* becomes *yid,* is integrated into the commentary: *de dag kyang dran pa rgyun chags kyi yid la ‘jug par ‘gyur te.*[30]

In line 324 of the *Extensive Commentary, dbang po* becomes *dpa’ bo*:

> kye lags dbang po ltos shig dang //
> (*Treasury of Dohā Verses,* line 211)

> kye lags dpa’ bo ltos shig dang //
> (*Extensive Commentary,* line 324)

Again, there is little doubt that this change was made in a Tibetan rather than an Apabhraṃśa context; *dbang po* renders Apabhraṃśa *indi/india,* “the senses,” while *dpa’ bo* would render Sanskrit *vīra,* “spiritual hero,” which the *Extensive Commentary* explicates as: *dpa’ bo zhes bya ba ni de nyid don du gnyer ba’i rnal ‘byor pa’o.*[31] However, the term *dpa’ bo/vīra* does not occur in any other version of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses.*

We can note here one other instance of this same phenomenon,[32] in which the redactor makes relative minor visually based changes to the Tibetan text that result in different philosophical readings. Where the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* reads

> lus dang ’dra ba’i mu gnas gzhan na med //
> (*Treasury of Dohā Verses,* line 233)

the *Extensive Commentary* has

> lung dang dran pa’i mu nas bzung ba’i tshe //
> (*Extensive Commentary,* line 361)[33]

Here *lus* (*kāa*) has been replaced by *lung* (*āgama*), and *‘dra ba* (*rūa*) has been replaced with *dran pa.*

Next let’s look at an example that illustrates both the redactor’s method of verse expansion and his use of narrative as commentary. Verses 31–32 of the canonical *Treasury of Dohā Verses* make use of a standard “if . . . then . . .” formula which emphasized the absurdity of the non-Buddhist’s religious practices by comparing them unfavorably to the mindless acts of animals. It reads:[34]

If liberated by raising one's tail,
The peacock and the yak would be liberated.

In the *Extensive Commentary* this verse is expanded with three extra lines, losing some of the former two-line version's wit as the punch line becomes obscured by the redactor's additions. The passage thus becomes:

You heretic pundits,
Put up a **tail** and show feigned beauty,
Seeing it splayed in the sun, you're **liberated**, you say.
This is so unreasonable [for then]
Peacocks, yaks, and such **would be liberated**.[35]

It is also helpful to look at the difference in the Tibetan text, for it suggests the points in which the redactor of the *Extensive Commentary* made his changes. The canonical version reads:

mjug spu bslang bas grol 'gyur na //
rma bya g.yag sogs grol bar 'gyur //.

And the expanded version reads:

mu stegs pan ti ta pa khyod //
mjug ma gtags nas mdzes tshul ston //
nyi la 'grem bltas grol 'gyur zer //
de ni shin tu mi rigs te //
rma bya g.yag sogs grol bar 'gyur //.

Here the expanded version reads like a wordy and less crisp version of the first. The former's *mjug spu bslang bas grol 'gyur na* is emptied in the center and stretched to two lines. This line is prefaced by a line in which the opponents are clearly named: "You!"—later to become a common feature of Tibetan polemic literature. The main image of the peacock's tail is elaborated by the vision of its glistening in the sun. Finally, the tension of the "If . . . then . . ." format of the former verse is first interrupted by the boldface statement that this practice is extremely wrong, and then lost altogether with the omission of the "If" or *na*. As has been discussed, the one identical line in this Tibetan passage, *rma bya g.yag sogs grol bar 'gyur*, shows that the translator/redactor of this version was familiar with the translation of the canonical *Treasury of Dohā Verses* itself, and not just with some Indic version.

According to Advayavajra's—or Kor Nirūpa's—rather mocking elaboration of the verse, this particular type of non-Buddhist paṇḍita draws a picture of the peacock's tail above his door with a certain type of pigment from a tree, and then from atop a pleasent tree feigns the preening moves of a peacock and makes his display to others.[36] The absurdity of this practice from the Buddhist's perspective was a foregone conclusion, but what makes the *Extensive Commentary on the Dohās* so lively is that the author follows up his running commentary to the expanded verse with a short tale that illustrates the message:[37]

> In the eastern land of Betala there lived a householder named Chukpotop and his wife, householder Ozerjinma. She bore two sons at the same time. Then they presented [the boys] to a brahmin namegiver, and the brahmin asked, "When these two were born, what signs arose?" [The householder] said, "Just when these two came, three baskets full to the brim with rice [appeared], and two moons shone." At that the Brahmin said, "Name the elder Sāluṭipa. Send him to be a charnel-ground dweller. Name the younger Candrajñāna. He should be sent to be a disciple."
>
> Thus they were sent off. The yogin dressed up as a woman and meditated with the divine pride of the Goddess Nairātmyā. The [disciple] became a great scholar and was able to give rise to ambrosia from poison as occurs in the tantras. So he dressed up as a peacock and said, "It would be good for the people of the city to see me." So he went. While the yogin taught the dharma dressed up as a woman, the scholar anointed [the city-folk] with the ambrosia from poison and all diseases were cured. At that everyone was astonished. The two sons of the Brahmin Gaṇgātāra, Langpo and Langposop, petitioned [the scholar and the yogin for teachings,] but they were not granted. Then those two [sons] took up [these practices] of their own accord; they took up the ascetic practices of an outcast girl and a peacock. [The pundits of the verse] are quite like this, and they follow these [practices].

Characterized as the "basis for error," the fable emphasizes the nonsensical nature of acting like a preening peacock, and by implication the speciousness of the heretic and the supremacy of the Buddhist yogi. Beyond this, however, it manages to evoke an emotional feeling in the verse in a way that a more straightfoward exegesis fails to do. The author of the *Extensive Commentary* not only expanded the verses themselves: he also expanded the bounds of the commentarial genre in which he was working by combining verse and narrative in the midst of technical elaborations and linguistic definitions.

A striking example of the changes wrought upon the verses by Kor Nirūpa is seen in his liberal use of a term that had by the eleventh century at the latest become a symbol of Saraha's teachings as a whole: the "heart's concern," or *snying po'i don* (also met with less frequently in Sanskrit as *sārārtha*, as for instance in the colophon to the incomplete commentary on the shorter recension of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* by Advayavajra).[38] The heart (*snying po*) or the heart's concern is used no less that twenty-five times in the verses of the *Extensive Commentary*,[39] whereas not a single instance of either of these terms is to be found in the canonical version of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. The heart's concern is signaled as the main subject of the *Extensive Commentary* in the introductory passage[40] and is the subject of continual commentary throughout the work. Let us look as several examples of this.

The most blatant occurrences of this phrase are in whole lines that are added to the work. Often they work to emphasize important points, as in the

case of the infamous line of the canonical version invariably linked to Dromton's insistence that Atiśa not teach the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. In the canonical version the verse reads:

> What use are butter lamps, what use are divine offerings?
> (*Treasury of Dohā Verses*, line 56)

In the *Extensive Commentary* this line is prefaced by an added line and thus reads:

> If you do not realize the supreme heart's concern,
> What use are butter lamps, what use are divine offerings?
> (*Extensive Commentary*, lines 106–107)[41]

This version actually tempers the anti-ritualistic potential of the earlier version by qualifying it with recourse to the ultimate principle. Thus, as if to allay Dromton's fears, ritual practices are not disparaged outright here, but they must be understood in the context of the work of enlightenment. Several lines later the redactor employs the same method of addition. What was:

> Those who are fixed in emptiness while devoid of compassion
> Will not acquire the supreme path.
> (*Treasury of Dohā Verses*, lines 60–61)

now becomes:

> Those who are fixed in emptiness while devoid of compassion
> Will not realize the heart.
> (*Extensive Commentary*, lines 119–120)

With few exceptions, wherever the redactor replaces a word in the earlier version with the "heart" or the "heart's concern," he replaces the very name of Saraha himself. Out of the eight occurrences of this change,[42] four verses in particular are worthy of mention, for not only does each contain the phrase the "heart's concern" or simply the "heart" in place of Saraha's name, it also touches upon the key notion of the work, namely, *sahaja*, or co-emergence. These verses exemplify the emotive power of Saraha's poetic songs, the primary religious-philosophical theme, and at the same time illustrate how one commentator actually changed Saraha's verse to accommodate his own reading of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*.

In the earlier, canonical version of each of these passages Saraha refers to himself in the third person, revealing himself as the singer of this song. This device gives the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* a very intimate feeling, as if Saraha is speaking directly to you. First let us look at lines 76–77 of the canonical *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. In this verse he tells of the innate, in Sanskrit *nija*, or *ṇia*, in Apabhraṃśa, a term that resonates with *sahaja*, co-emergence, and that is favored by Saraha to evoke the ground and goal of the spiritual quest. The verse reads:

gnyug ma'i rang bzhin byis pas ma mthong bar//
'khrul pas byis pa bslus zhes **mda' bsnu**n smra //.
(*Treasury of Dohā Verses*, lines 76–77)

Saraha says: The nature of the innate is not envisioned by the fool,
So delusion leads the fool astray.

And the Apabhraṃśa reads:

saraha bhaṇaï jaga vāhia āleṃ//
ṇiasahāba ṇaü lakkhiu vāleṃ //
(*Dohākoṣa*, verse 18c–d)[43]

Now, this is the freestanding Tibetan version, a rendering that accords quite well with the Apabhraṃśa versions of which we know. But in the lengthy commentary of Advayavajra, this verse is transformed by the replacement of one crucial word. Advayavajra's version reads:

gnyug ma'i rang bzhin byis pas ma **tshor** bas //
'khrul pas byis pa bslus zhes **snying pos** smras //.
(*Extensive Commentary*, lines 146–147)

The Heart says: The nature of the innate is not felt by the fool,
So delusion leads the fool astray.

Here the speaker, the teacher, is not Saraha but rather the heart, what in Sanskrit would most likely be *hṛdaya*, or in Apabhraṃśa *hiaa*, and in Tibetan *snying po*. This important term is yet another evocation of the ontological ground out of which both existence and enlightenment evolve. It is also, most likely coincidentally, the same term used in the Tibetan translation of *tathāgatagarbha*, or Buddha nature. For Advayavajra, it is not Saraha that reaches to us in song, but reality itself.

In the next verse is a similar theme expressed in more emotive terms:

lhan cig skyes pa'i rang bzhin de nyid ni //
dngos dang dngos po med pa ma yin te //
mda' bsnun 'o dod rtag tu 'bod par byed //
(*Treasury of Dohā Verses*, lines 84–86)

The nature of co-emergence
Is neither a thing nor a nothing!
Saraha perpetually cries out this lament.

saraheṃ ṇitta kaḍhḍhiu rāva /
sahaja sahāva ṇa bhāvābhāva //
(*Dohākoṣa*, verse 20c–d)[44]

And in the *Extensive Commentary* the same verse reads:

People's co-emergent wisdom
[Is neither] a thing nor a nothing.
The Heart's Concern perpetually cries out this lament.

lhan cig skyes pa'i 'gro ba'i ye shes de //
rang bzhin nyid kyi dngos dang dngos med par //
snying po'i don ni 'o dod rtag tu 'bod //

(lines 155–157)

Again, Saraha is here replaced by the heart, the essential spiritual experience, which is in turn personified as itself a mentor experiencing sadness for those who have not realized that enlightened wisdom cannot be conceptualized.

In the next verse we find a common trope among dohā songs, namely the paradox that, though verse upon verse may be taught, these words do not capture the experience to which they are said to refer. Saraha—author of the longest *Treasury of Dohā Verses*—has by his own admission nothing to say that can adequately convey his message of nonconceptuality. He writes:

"With blissful faith in the words of the holy master,
I have nothing to say," says **Saraha**.

bla ma dam pa'i bka' yis bde bar yid ches par//
nga yis brjod du yod min zhes ni **mda' bsnun** smra //

(lines 137–138)

varaguru vaaṇeṃ paḍijjahu sacceṃ /
saraha bhaṇaï maï kahiaü [ṇa] vāṁce //[45]

(verse 33c–d)

The same verse in the *Extensive Commentary* runs:

"Beyond the experience of faith in the words of the holy master;
This is the heart of wisdom,
And I have nothing to say,"
Says **the Heart's supreme concern**.

bla ma dam pa'i bka' las yid ches pa'i //
nyams myong myong med ye shes snying po ste //
nga yis brjod du yod pa ma yin zhes //
snying po don mchog dag ni de skad smras //

(lines 225–228)

And finally, in contrast with this apophatic refusal to reduce enlightenment to words, we find the following positive appraisal of poetic song as a means of expressing the realization of co-emergence. In the freestanding version the verse runs:

Attaining such realization, **Saraha** sings this song,
Though he has not seen a single mantra, a single tantra.

'di ltar rtogs nas **mda' bsnun** glu len te //
sngags dang rgyud rnams gcig kyang ma mthong ngo //
(lines 161–62)

evaṃ maṇe muṇi **sarahem̩** gāhiu /
tanta manta ṇaü ekkavi cāhiu //[46]
(verse 39c–d)

And in the commentary of Advayavajra we find the following interpolated verse:

Attaining realization in this way, **the Heart** is sung in song;
Though you may persevere in every mantra and tantra,
Until free of philosophizing, no one will reach the visionary path.

de ltar rtogs nas **snying po** glur len te //
sngags dang rgyud rnams kun la 'bad byas kyang //
rtog ge de bral gcig la mthong lam med //
(lines 257–259)

What is important to notice here is precisely that Saraha sings: His message of realization is not to be found in tantras, or in philosophical treatises, but in the visceral and evocative medium of poetic song. Saraha sings to us, the heart sings to us, and this fact is, I believe, a significant part of the popularity of the *Dohākoṣa*, and of Saraha in India, and especially in Tibet.

Beyond being indicative of the style and flavor of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, these verses embody the vibrant corpus of Tibetan writings on the lives and teachings of Saraha that have have discussed in the last two chapters on several levels. Like the above verses, life stories of Saraha are variable, with scenes changed to suit the interests of their writers or commentators. Second, in Tibetan hagiographic writing Saraha is a very personal figure; since he is singing from his heart, he is approachable at some intimate level by all aspirants. Finally, the important substitution found between the freestanding verse sung by Saraha and the verses sung by the heart of reality itself is symbolic of the role Saraha plays in hagiographic writings as a figure who is a man like any other and simultaneously an unmediated presence of the enlightened state itself. Saraha, we could say, is co-emergent with the ultimate spiritual experience itself. As was seen in earlier chapters, such a philosophically based identification of teacher and absolute reality in the person of Saraha was indeed developed by his hagiographers in Tibet.

Let us look at one more example of the *Extensive Commentary*'s use of the heart, one in which not Saraha but another important philosophical term is replaced: emptiness (*stong pa* [*nyid*], *śūnyatā*, Apabhraṃśa; *suṇal suṇṇa*). In the canonical *Treasury of Dohā Verses* the passage is:

On the sacred trunk of emptiness (branches) grow.
Endowed with many sorts of sacred compassion,
Spontaneously it bears the final fruit of results.
(*Treasury of Dohā Verses*, lines 515–525)

The crucial Tibetan line in this verse is line 522:

> stong pa'i sdong po dam pa me tog rgyas //.

By contrast the *Extensive Commentary*'s verse reads:

> Through the Heart itself, branches grow (on the) trunk.
> Endowed with many sorts of sacred compassion,
> Spontaneously it bears the final fruit of results.
> (*Extensive Commentary,* lines 747–749)

And the important Tibetan line is 747:

> snying po nyid kyis sdong po yal 'dab rgyas //.

The commentary to this verse clearly integrates the new reading, as it tells us that "By taking *the heart*, suchness, into one's meditative experience,. . . . branches of enlightened features grow on the trunk of the enlightened body of communal enjoyment."[47] It appears that the author of the commentary and the redactor of the verse had in mind a more kataphatic reading of the imagery of flourishing plants in this passage, and the heart fairly easily replaces emptiness as a sort of reverse image of the fullness of the emancipated state.

Commentarial Rearrangements of Ling Repa

Finally I would like to introduce the radical restructuring of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* undertaken by Ling Repa Pema Dorje (1128–1188).[48] As was seen in the last chapter, Ling Repa is taken by some to have been a direct student of Parbuwa Lodro Senge and to have received teachings on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* from this early Tibetan commentator. In another passage of the *Blue Annals*, however, Go Lotsawa reveals his feeling that this may not be the case, for the commentaries of the two masters are slightly different.[49] Whether the philosophical details differ greatly or not, the organizational structures of the two commentaries differ radically. The two used the same translation of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, to be sure, and yet Ling Repa, through the reorganization of the verses as we find them in the canonical version, comments on a work that is vastly different from that approached by Parbuwa. In effect, Ling Repa re-creates the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* in order to comment upon it in a systematic fashion. He hints at his motives in the opening verses of *The Illumination of Suchness: An Introduction to the Dohās*:[50]

> Here, in order to teach suchness in its nature to all, the lord of yogins,
> Glorious Saraha spoke out in words according to his cry of realization.
> Even though suchness was illuminated, just as the wingless do not go in the sky,

Those without the primordial awareness realized through the kindness of the Master are without the profound meaning.

Therefore, I bow to the Master, and since the supreme primordial awareness which arises from suchness is like the sun's disc, I will summarize, divide, and explain clearly.

According to the various doors at which the faithful students are arranged, I have analyzed well;

May we obtain the supreme jewel of compassion, source of all wants and needs, and may we obtain the two benefits. Kye!

As he intimates in these verses, Ling Repa has divided *The Illumination of Suchness*—and thus the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* itself—into six topics and forty-two subtopics. Under this scheme he rearranged the verses of Saraha's *Treasury of Dohā Verses* (see appendix 3 for a full outline). Ling Repa devotes section two of the six major sections of his commentary to the supreme importance of relying on the spiritual master during tantric practice.[51] This is of course one of the main themes of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* itself, and yet the references to the spiritual master are scattered throughout the canonical version.[52] In order to consolidate these references into a single group, Ling Repa collected sixty-three verses from seven different places in the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* and rearranged them under five subtopics. Essential to section two is a commentary on lines 72–98, all of which are presented in the standard order. But what Ling Repa has done is break this passage apart in three places by inserting lines from later in the work. We will look at what Ling Repa has done from two angles: first what has he put together, and secondly, what verses has he separated by his new arrangement?

Ling Repa begins section two, "Relying upon the Mentor," with lines 72–73 of the canonical *Treasury*, which emphasize the necessity of receiving spiritual instructions from a qualified teacher. The subsection entitled "Look to the Mentor" comments upon the verses:

It has no view that can be pointed out,
Yet only from the words of the mentor can it be seen.

These verses are followed immediately by lines 213–214, under the subsection "The Precious Pronouncements of the Mentor:"

In the presence of a person who is done with karmic activity,
You must sever the cord of the mind.

By linking these two passages, Ling Repa begins to create an ordered argument about the importance of the guru; lines 72–73 posit the need for the mentor's oral instruction, and lines 213–214 contain the injunction to the reader which naturally follows upon the preceding. But what happened to lines 74–75, which also have to do with the mentor? These lines Ling Repa reserves for his discussion in section 2.4, "The Benefits of What Is Taught by the Mentor." But first he combines two long passages to illustrate his next topic (2.3): "The

Spiritual Means Are Taught in Accordance with the Instructions of the Master." Lines 146–158 and 261–272 together form an extended passage on the impossibility of coming to know co-emergence through any other means than the instructions of one's guru:

> The nature of the innate is not pointed out by anybody.
> The root of the mind is not pointed out;
> Where the three facets of co-emergence arise,
> Where they recede, where they reside
> Is not clearly known.
> Whoever thinks upon the suchness that is free of a root
> Would do well to see the instructions of the master.
> The nature of samsara is the essence of the mind:
> Fools, know all these words spoken by Saraha.
> The nature of the innate cannot be told with words,
> Yet the instructions of the master may be seen with the eye.
> Delighting in both dharma and non-dharma, partake;
> In these there is not a speck of evil. (146–158)

> Who does not drink to satiation the panacea,
> The ambrosial waters of the master's instruction,
> Though he may drink many treatises,
> On the plains of suffering, he will be pained and die.
> Were the master not to relate his teaching,
> The student would not understand.
> How could the taste of ambrosia,
> Co-emergence, be taught, and by whom?
> Under the sway of grasping at valid cognitions,
> Fools grasp at details.
> At such times, play in the house of a peasant;
> Though it be filthy, you will not be sullied. (261–272)

Section 2.4, "The Benefits of What Is Taught by the Mentor," first returns to the main passage of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* under discussion with lines 74–75. Immediately after this, however, Ling Repa places lines 253–260, which form a sort of commentary on the preceding; the "seeing" in lines 74–75 is elaborated upon in these lines as a comprehensive understanding of the nature of mind. This understanding, as per the topic of section two, comes to disciples only when they have integrated their teachers' instructions into their spiritual practice:

> One in whose heart the mentor's words have entered
> Will as if see a treasure in the palm of their hand. (74–75)

> If the nature of what arises as a concrete objects is like the sky,
> After abandoning things, what arises?
> Today the glorious master has taught
> That nature is primordially nonarising, so I understand.

Seeing, hearing, feeling, memory,
Eating, smelling, wandering, going, and staying,
Chitchat and conversation;
If you know that these are mind; nothing moves from this unitary kind. (253–260)

Ling Repa concludes his discussion of the mentor's words with subsection 2.5, "The Evils of What Is Not Pointed Out by the Mentor." Here he returns to the earlier series of verses to comment on lines 76–98. These lines form a series of laments and exhortations by Saraha on mistaken notions of co-emergence that do not make any explicite reference to the mentor. Nevertheless, when read in light of the preceding reorganized verses, they clearly speak to the grim situation that befalls those who do not heed the mentor's instruction.[53]

One more example should further illustrate Ling Repa's methods of reorganization. In section three of his commentary he explicates the *Treasury of Dohā Verses'* presentation of meditative experience. To do this he draws together eight separate passages from the work and, much as in the preceding section, organizes them into a graded introduction to the subject. Subsection 3.3, "Stationing Oneself in the Natural Realm of the Great Seal," combines lines 131–134, 137–141, and 159–161 to create a single passage on the experience of realization:

Thing and no-thing are bonds for one passed into bliss.
Without separating existence and sameness,
Turn the ego in its natural state toward singularity, Yogin.
Be aware of this like water poured in water. (131–134)

With joyous faith in the words of the holy master,
"I have nothing to say," says Saraha.
Looking and looking at the nature of the primordially pure sky,
Vision of it ceases.
As in time even [conceptuality] ceases. (137–141)

When the innate mind has been purified,
The enlightened qualities of the master will enter your heart.
Realizing so, Saraha sings this song. (159–161)

Lines 135–136 do not find a place here, for they do not contribute to this positive description of what for Ling Repa is the Great Seal, the inexpressible experience toward which the practitioner strives. Similarly, lines 142–158 all offer critical comments on erroneous meditative practices. Ling Repa omits these here, only to introduce them in the following section of his graded exposition of the dohās, which collects the various verses dealing with the faults of over-conceptualized meditative techniques.

It is clear that Ling Repa consciously reorganized the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* to conform to his own commentarial imperatives. Further, he undertook this transformation of the work with no subterfuge in mind, for he makes it

perfectly clear to the reader when he pulls a passage from an earlier or later section of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. This he does simply by saying "previously" (*gong du*) or "later" (*'og tu*) at the beginning of passages that he has reordered. This effective tool shows that his methods were based on a version of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* that in all probability looked quite like the presently available canonical version, a version, moreover, that he held to be authoritative (or at least well known) in its arrangement. Unlike the more radical work of the editor/translator of the *Extensive Commentary*, Ling Repa's changes seek not to alter the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, but to make it more approachable as a coherent and logically organized teaching aid in spiritual and scholastic practice.

Certainly much more could be said about the work of these three redactors, Pathamagupta, Kor Nirūpa, and Ling Repa. The transformations wrought by them often have far-reaching doctrinal implications which I have barely touched on, for at this stage of research I have been concerned merely to document the phenomena. The preceding discussion is sufficient, however, to show that these members of the traditions involved with the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* were not afraid to rework the words of the Great Brahmin. Various reasons are given: to collect lost or fragmentary verses, to follow the word of the master and not the lifeless letter on the page, to aid students in understanding the wandering message of the original work. All of these reasons find (at least potentially) their justification in the work itself: "With ever new dohās, nothing remains hidden." The reworkers of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* were not vitiating a once pure manuscript tradition, they were upholding the teachings of the Great Brahmin by continually giving his teachings, his "heart," new life, new form, new potential.

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PART III

The *Treasury of Dohā Verses* and *Ornamental Flower for the Dohās*

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Introduction to the Commentary

If it is difficult for scholars completely trained externally and internally to understand this text, how can the untrained—the king, the queen, the commoner, the fool—understand it?

—Chomden Raldri

Introduction

Part III contains a complete translation of a Tibetan version of Saraha's *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, as well as a thirteenth-century commentary on the *Treasury* authored by the fascinating Central Tibetan scholar Chomden Raldri (1227–1305). This is the first full translation of a commentary on Saraha's *Treasury*. I have chosen Chomden Raldri's commentary for several reasons: It is as concise and straightfoward an introduction to Saraha's work as we can hope for, given the nature of the verses and the arrangement of the work. The shortest of the prose commentaries, it is certainly the most accessible to the uninitiated reader. It also illustrates a number of the themes explored in this book. Finally, Chomden Raldri is himself among the most interesting twelfth-century intellectuals of Tibet, and thus his work merits further consideration.[1]

Despite these attributes, it is not always easy to translate, and the present efforts should be treated as contributions to our growing understanding of the dohā literature and its place in Tibetan commentarial traditions, not as definitive translations. Mokṣākaragupta may call many passages in the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* "easy to understand," but this does not mean that the work as a whole is without difficult passages. It is my hope that the present translations will

be of use to those wishing to undertake more extensive research in the dohā literature.

Themes of the *Treasury* and Its Commentary

In general terms, the major concerns of Chomden Raldri's commentary are the immediacy of the ultimate spiritual experience in human bodily existence, the impossibility of adequately expressing this experience, and the necessity to engage in the proper meditative practice with an altruistic attitude under the guidance of one's spiritual mentor in order to bring such an ecstatic experience to life in oneself. These themes, which the *Dohākoṣa* shares with a host of tantric works from both Buddhist and Hindu authors as well as with works from Mahāyāna philosophers, are here expressed primarily in terms of one evocative philosophical notion, co-emergence. Indeed, Saraha's *Dohākoṣa* can be seen as a lengthy description of just this idea.

In Buddhism this descriptive term for the experience of ultimate reality appears to have initially developed in conjunction with the tantric ritual of initiation into yogic practice, in which the the tantric master introduces the aspirant to the methods of yoga in four successive stages and imbues him with a taste of the ultimate spiritual experience. A sublime joy that accompanies the third and fourth stage of this ritual initiation is said to be co-emergent with the exact moment of initiation and is therefore termed *sahajānanda*, or co-emergent bliss.[2] In time *sahaja*, co-emergence, was taken from this restricted context and creatively developed into an evocation of the spiritual reality which is both the all-encompassing foundation for and the ultimate goal of spiritual practice.[3]

This vision of co-emergence can be seen as a tantric formation of the Mahāyāna notion of Buddha Nature, or *tathāgatagarbha*, the ontological ground which at once provides the seeds of human existence and the potential for enlightenment. This affinity was not lost to commentators on Saraha's *Dohākoṣa*: Chomden Raldri explicitly links Buddha nature to co-emergence in his relatively straightforward introduction to Saraha's work.[4] After quoting an eclectic group of classical Buddhist exegetical treatises, including the most exhaustive work on Buddha nature, the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, as well as the well-known work on logic and epistemology, the *Pramāṇavārttika*, Chomden Raldri delineates a threefold definition of co-emergence in terms of another synonym for Buddha Nature, radiant light: "Because this radiant light, the nature of the mind, arises simultaneously with cyclic existence [and] all beings, it is called 'co-emergent,' and since the two obscurations are overcome when this is directly realized and meditated upon, [it is] also called 'primordial awareness.' " This radiant nature of the mind can be understood from three perspectives: "When it exists in the mental continua of beings for whom the path has not come to life it is called 'ground co-emergence.' When it has been introduced by a mentor and dawns upon one's mind, it is called 'path co-emergence.' The primordial awareness for which obscurations and habituations have been ex-

hausted is called 'result co-emergence.'" Thus, in contrast with the co-emergence of earlier tantric ritual praxis, here enlightenment itself, otherwise known as primordial awareness, is continually emerging, evolving human existence. For Saraha, *sahaja* becomes a powerful motif that combines a deep sense of wonder and poetic connotation with a rigorous and graduated path from the obscured state of ordinary human awareness to the enlightened state of primordial awareness.

Like commentators before and after him, Chomden Raldri undertakes a challenging attempt to insinuate the order of a systematic philosophical presentation into a relatively unsystematic work. After a brief general introduction to co-emergence, he treats Saraha's refutations of non-Buddhist and Buddhist veiwpoints on liberation (verse lines 1–49). He then treats verse lines 50–90 as the first major section of the *Treasury* itself dealing with co-emergence as ontological ground. Chomden Raldri understands the bulk of Saraha's dohās to be concerned the nature of practices conducive to liberation, and he includes lines 91–514 under the topic of co-emergence as path. Finally co-emergence as the result of spiritual practice is taken up by lines 526–541.

Aside from its philosophical content, Chomden Raldri's commentary illustrates a number of the issues touched upon throughout this book. He was accutely aware that there were a number of translations of Saraha's *Treasury*. At times he cites different translations and expresses his preference for one over another. On other occasions he incorporates without comment fragments of the *Treasury* that agree with versions other than the standard canonical edition. At several points in the latter fourth of the work it is clear that Chomden Raldri's working edition of the *Treasury* is closer to the blockprint edition of Lhatsunpa Rinchen Namgyal,[5] or even the *Extensive Commentary* of Advaya Avadhūti. Raldri's version also follows the text of the verses incorporated into Mokṣākaragupta's *Commentary on Difficult Points in the Dohā*. This is not surprising, for this Indian commentary appears to have been Raldri's principle source for his own commentary.

He is also aware of the historical and doctrinal controversies surrounding the acceptence of Saraha's work in eleventh-century Tibet, for he addresses Dromton's criticisms of Saraha's teaching directly. According to Chomden Raldri, Atiśa rejected Dromton's concerns, "though when the translation was finished it was put in a stūpa." Raldri spent his career at Narthang Monastery, one of the premier Kadampa institutions claiming Atiśa as its founder. It is not surprising, then, that he attempts to mediate between Atiśa and Dromton. For him, Saraha's verses are not a total condemnation of ritual, for while the Great Brahmnin "taught that one will not actually attain liberation with offerings to the Buddhist gods . . . this is not an out-and-out rejection of offerings."

Conventions of the Translation

Unlike many other Tibetan commentators, Chomden Raldri has not divided his work according to a formal outline. His is a more free-flowing commentary

which, while dividing Saraha's work as a whole into several distinct sections, leaves to the reader the division of individual verses. In the absence of a formal outline, I have where possible divided the root verses into smaller or larger passages using Chomden Raldri's general topical divisions. Occasionally, where he either glosses over large sections of Saraha's work or makes no strict division between one topic and another, I have divided the verses according to my reading of them, or another, more detailed and explicit outline. Topical headings that occur in the commentary I have set off in bold. Those that do not occur in the commentary I have placed in brackets.

The translations presented here are based upon the editions in Schaeffer (2000b). There I present two separate editions of the Tibetan texts of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. The first version takes the now standard version as it is found in the Derge Tanjur. Variants are listed there from the Peking Tanjur, the version found in the canonical commentary of Advaya Avadhūti entitled *Commentary on Songs of the Heart's Concern* (Derge Tanjur edition), the paracanonical version printed by Lhatsun Rinchen Namgyal (1473–1557), and the paracanonical version preserved among the works of Jamyang Zhepay Dorje I Ngawang Tsondru (1648–1721).

The purpose of the edition of the verses in Schaeffer (2000b) is primarily to enable the reader to read the translation of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* in close conjunction with the Tibetan. I have not created a critical edition, by which I mean that I have not created a text that is linguistically correct by our standards but nonexistent in any available Tibetan version. I believe, however, that an edition such as this does have text-historical value: Primarily it shows, in conjunction with several other commentaries, that the version printed by Lhatsun Rinchen Namgyal preserves a Tibetan version of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* which I believe represents an earlier period of the life of the work than the canonical version in the Derge Tanjur.

The second edition provides a parallel-text comparison of the freestanding canonical version (Derge Tanjur edition) and the version found in the Tibetan translation of the verses of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* in the *Extensive Commentary* attributed to Advayavajra. As was seen earlier, the verses found in the *Extensive Commentary* are often radically different from the more common translations, and the text of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* as a whole exceeds the canonical version by more than 200 verse lines. In conjunction with the former edition, this parallel edition illustrates a unique example of the ways in which the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* has been adapted and transformed by redactors, translators, and commentators.

As is common in Tibetan commentarial literature, Chomden Raldri does not provide the freestanding verses he is explicating. Rather, he weaves words and phrases from Saraha's verse into his prose, providing a commentary that is easily connected back to the verses by those who have memorized them, as his audience presumably would have done. Few moderns have had the training to be able to hold such a lengthy verse work in their memory while reading a commentary to it (myself included), and thus I have used several graphic conventions as an aid the modern reader. The freestanding verses of the *Treasury*

of Dohā Verses are in bold print. The words from the verses intwerwoven into Chomden Raldri's commentary are in both bold and italic in order to distinguish them from the commentary. This system allows the reader to see not only which passage Chomden Raldri is explaining, but also the method by which he integrates Saraha's work into his own. Saraha's verses are numbered according to the edition of the Tibetan *Treasury of Dohā Verses* in Schaeffer (2000b).

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Ornamental Flower for the Dohās

In the language of India: ***Dohālaṃkārapuṣpa***

In the language of Tibet: ***Ornamental Flower for the Dohās***

Homage to Vajradhara.

Faithfully bowing to the mind as such—
Co-emergent as radiant light and the enlightened body of reality,
The nondual mind of enlightenment—
I will explain the essential meaning of the *Dohā Verses* of the Great
Brahmin,
Distinguishing the path of liberation from what is not the path.

Introduction

Now, the Great Brahmin of Southern India, Saraha, heard [the Buddhist teachings] under the arcane lord Vajrapāṇi, student of the Buddha Vajradhara, and under the ḍākinī of primordial awareness, Sukhasiddhī, and this text of the *Dohā* is the teaching which will be explained. [Saraha] taught [the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*] to Master Padmavajra, Noble Nāgārjuna, and Śabareśvara, and this text is known to have been composed when Master Padmavajra made a request. Even the vocative words such as "boy" are actually [present] in that [text].

At the stūpa at southern Śrīparvata Mountain, Master Nāgārjuna said to Master Āryadeva, "The Great Seal is attained in front of

the stūpa," which is one of nine path-cycles. All [these masters] resided at Śrīparvata Mountain in Southern India. Maitripa went to Śrīparvata and asked Śabareśvara Śavaripa [for the teaching]. [Maitripa] said to Vajrapāṇi, one of [his] four great disciples, "Go north," so he went to Nepal. Naktsho the Translator, Maban Chobar, Barek the Translator, and Asu the Nepalese asked [Vajrapāṇi for the dohā teachings] and spread the texts of the Great Seal in Tibet. I descend from them, and heard [the dohā teachings] under Master Jodan, a meditator who came under the Great Kashmirian Śākyaśrī as his attendant. The great scholar [Jodan] Dānaśīla, said, "As for the single teaching which arose as the teaching of the Buddha, this is the most profound."

Commentaries to this text were composed by Master Mokṣākaragupta, and, while it appears that [the commentary composed by] the so-called Advayavajra was translated by Vairocana, there is a writing which says that "[the work] was composed by Kor Nirūpa and then rumored to have been made by Nyime Tokpa Maitri, and [the verses] dissimilar to the actual root dohā verses were composed by Śabareśvara. Since he was called "The Hunting Adept" and attained spiritual accomplishments destroying game animals, he is not the same as the Great Brahmin. Since there are many fancies of his own liking in that commentary, it should not be trusted.

There are many [dohās] attributed to the one called the "Great Brahmin," such as the letter dohās like the *Alphabet Dohā*, and the *Enlightened Body, Speech, and Mind Dohā Trilogy*. It is known that the *King Dohā* and the *Queen Dohā* were composed by Balpo Asu, but these verses of the *Doha'i chings* are cited in the *Nectar Drop Commentary on Chanting the Names* [*of Mañjuśrī*]:

Delusion is the measure of sky,
If one knows this, delusions are severed.
First, look to the pure sky;
By looking the eye is obstructed.
Just this amount of teaching suffices;
What can be done by speaking more?
Turning the eye upward half an eye,
Know that the eye is but a foundation.[6]

These [dohā verses] and this work [i.e., the *Do ha chings*] are indisputably composed by Saraha. Since others said to be composed by the Great Brahmin are not found cited in Indic works, they seem doubtful.

The Meaning of the Work's Title

Since ***dohā*** is "plentiful" or "uncontrived," [dohās] teach the actual mind which is uncontrived by afflictive emotions or concepts, so it is called "dohā." Alternatively, since the language of dohā is employed as the milking which deeply fills, it is milking the primordial awareness of one's mind which is a mind filled with primordial awareness. ***Koṣa*** is "treasury," the container in which that

primordial awareness arises. ***Gīti*** is "song," a work that teaches [things] such as that rendered into song. Therefore, the explanation that since one laughs at two, the meaning is laughing at two, instructing and blaming, is a Tibetan guess, because the Indic term for two is *dvi*. ***Mañjuśrī*** is the translator's homage.

[Introductory Remarks on Co-emergent Primordial Awareness]

The general topic of said work: The subject of this is co-emergent primordial awareness. The *Hevajra* says:

> Great primordial awareness dwells in the body:
> So free of all conceptualizing,
> Pervader of all things,
> Dwelling [4a] in the body, not born of the body.[7]

The *Three Royal Mothers* says:

> Mind, mind nonexistent, the nature of mind is radiant light.

And the *Supreme Continuum* says:

> To those who see that since the mind's nature is radiant light, defilement is unreal,
> Who perfectly realize the ultimacy of the insubstantiality of all the world as quiescence,
> Who possess unobscured perception which sees a perfect buddha living in all,
> Who possess the vision of primordial awareness which beholds the purity and infinity of all beings—To those I bow down.[8]

The meaning of those [passages] is this; the mind, unaffected by defilements or concepts, dwelling like the unmarred sky, pervades all beings. The *King of Samādhi* says:

> The heart of the one coursing in bliss totally pervades all beings.
> Here there is no being who is not a container.
> These beings will become buddhas without exception.

The *Ornament for the Sūtras* says:

> Though suchness is undifferentiated in everyone,
> Through being purified,
> [4b] It is the essence of the one coursing in suchness;
> Therefore all beings are endowed with its heart.[9]

Defilements and concepts arise incidentally to the nature of radiant light. The *Supreme Continuum* says:

By nature unestablished,
Pervasive, incidental,
These obscurations of defilement and object
Are said to be like clouds.[10]

The *Vārttika* explains:

The nature of mind is radiant light,
The stains are incidental.[11]

Because this radiant light, the nature of the mind, arises simultaneously with cyclic existence [and] all beings, it is called "co-emergent," and since the two obscurations are overcome when that is directly realized and meditated upon, [it is] also called "primordial awareness." When it exists in the continua of beings for whom the path has not come to life, it is called "ground co-emergence." When it has been introduced by a mentor and dawns upon one's mind, it is called "path co-emergence." The primordial awareness for which obscurations and habituations have been exhausted is called "result co-emergence." Noble Nāgārjuna says in the *Five Stages*:

Obtaining the favor of the master, with perception in which the stainless nature of all things is firm,
The yogin should meditate upon the realm of the buddha's liberation from suffering, which is radiant, pure, very subtle, holy, and quiescent.
And upon that so eternally blissful nature which is nondual, free from conceptuality.
Liberated from merit and nonmerit, here one becomes Lord Vajrasattva.[12]

Here with "radiant, pure," and so forth, this teaches ground co-emergence, and with "nondual," and so forth it teaches path co-emergence. With "becoming Vajrasattva," result co-emergence is taught, and by "merit and non-merit," it is taught that both path and result are liberated from all concepts such as virtue and sin. This is precisely the path of liberation. Nāgārjuna explains in the *Encomium to the Nonconceptual*,

The certain foundation of all buddhas,
Hearers and Solitary Realizers:
You, the path to liberation, are the one.
Certainly, no other is made.[13]

[Refutations]

Second, the teaching in that work: While all paths depend upon the teacher, in particular the enlightenment of arcane mantra depends upon the master.

Therefore all those who do not teach co-emergence are refuted. First, non-Buddhist teachers are refuted in a general way:

> **Viper-like misfortunates,**
> **Make truly holy beings,**
> **Laugh with [their] flawed blight,**
> **So, be fearful at the mere sight [of them]. (1–4)**

Because, ***like a viper*** who ruins others by sight, breath, touch, and teeth, the non-Buddhist teacher who is himself ***without the fortune*** of the path to liberation ***makes truly holy beings*** who are endowed with the heart of the buddha ***laugh with the flawed blight*** of [his] wrong path, view, and practice, one ***should be fearful at the mere sight*** [of him] and get rid [of him]. Such is the general refutation.

> **Poor brahmins, not knowing suchness,**
> **Recite the four Vedas.**
> **Purifying earth, water, and grass,**
> **They sit at home burning the fire.**
> **Performing these useless burnt offerings**
> **Hurts the eyes with smoke! (5–10)**

If refuted in particular, first the brahmins who adhere to the Vedas are refuted: ***Brahmins who do not know the suchness*** of the path to liberation are ***poor***; they ***recite the four Vedas***, the lowly *Ṛg*, *Sāma*, *Atharva*, and *Yajur*. The *Blaze of Reason* says:

> Acting with a good eye,
> A person should measure these Vedas;
> [6a] As they speak the falsehoods of demons and drunkards,
> They are like the books of ravens.[14]

Performing burnt offerings in the fire and ***purifying*** the filth of ***earth, water, and kuśa grass***: these are ***useless*** for heaven or liberation.

> **With staff and trident, in the guise of Śiva,**
> **Taught difference by the swan,**
> **Dharma and non-dharma are not the same, so they know.**
> **They lead beings astray into falsehood. (11–14)**

Second, a refutation of those who participate in wrong ascetic practices: With ***a staff, a trident***, they conquer the body and faithfully take on ***the guise of Śiva***. The Sāṃkhyas desire to discipline the mind:

> If one knows the twenty-five principles,
> Whether hairy, bald or crested,
> Whatever style one lives by is all right:
> One will be liberated, of this there is no doubt.

Since they desire liberation when they know self and soul to be different, they also say "***difference***." Further, the Vaiṣṇavas:

Fish, turtle, boar,
Lion among men, little man,
Two Rāmas, Kṛṣṇa,
Buddha, swan: Viśṇu has ten [incarnations].
Whoever meditates constantly upon his qualities
Will obtain bliss.

Viṣṇu emanated as the Stone Horse ***Swan***, one of his ten incarnations. Inasmuch as those who are taught by the swan who works for the benefit of beings do not know proper from improper or the path from what is not the path, [for them] they are the same. Such ***beings*** are ***led astray*** on a ***false*** path, as if wandering in a barren wilderness.

Bodies smeared with Eri ash,
They wear a pile of hair upon their heads.
Lighting fires in their homes, they sit,
Sit in the corner and ring their bells,
Crossed-legged, eyes closed,
Whispering in ears, deceiving the people.
To others such as widows and shaven [monks] they teach,
Meting out initiations and accepting gifts to the master.
(15–22)

A refutation of Śaivas: [They] are rubbed and ***smeared with eri ash***, the ash from the burned corpse of a brahmin. The ***corner*** is in the northwest where Śiva resides, or in the corner of a maṇḍala. ***To others such as*** barren women, ***widows, and shaven monks they teach***. The claims in their respective tantras that one is liberated by the initiations of both Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas is refuted in the *Vārttika*, which explains,

To those who do not see a reason
For authority being such a thing,
Being liberated by mere authority
Does not satisfy the learned.[15]

This is reminiscent of the time when, while Maitripa was a non-Buddhist, he requested the initiation of Mahāviśṇu from the teacher Bharka, and his secret name was Sahajānanda.

Nails long, body covered with filth,
Free of clothing, hair pulled out,
The Digambaras are deceived that the Self
Will be made to go toward liberation by the guise of a penitent path.

If liberated by nakedness,
Why are dogs and foxes not liberated?
If liberated by plucking hair,
The hair-plucked girl would be liberated.
If liberated by raising one's tail,
The peacock and the yak would be liberated.
If liberated by eating what is found,
Why are not the horse and the elephant?
Saraha says, "Digambaras
Have no liberation at all." (23–36)

The *Encomium to* [*the Buddha's*] *Qualities* says:

By performing physical austerities,
The bonds are destroyed; So the naked one claims.
You claim that by performing mental austerities,
The bonds are destroyed.[16]

A refutation of the Digambaras who say (such things): [Those whose] ***nails are long*** and are ***sky-clad*** are the eternalists who practice that. This is the path of forbearance, on which ***the self is made to go*** like so many objects ***toward liberation*** by means of such things as the ***guise of a*** self-***penitent path*** and nakedness. This path is a cause for laughter! An explanation of the joke: ***If*** one is **liberated** through the practice of being without clothes, so should the ***naked***, and ***if*** one is ***liberated*** through the practice of ***plucking out hair***, so should the ***girl who plucks the hair*** on her waist in order to beautify her figure. Hearing that they will be born as gods [acting like] ***the peacock, the yak, the horse, the elephant, and so forth who eat what they pick up***, [the Digambaras] undertake practices in which they assume their mannerisms. The refutation of that is ***raising one's tail***, et cetera.

Saraha is [composed of] the words *sa ra*, which is "arrow," and *ha pa*, which is "to have shot," "to have flung." Therefore, there are two explanations: that this is a name of confidence, and that since the ḍākinī of primordial awareness shot him with an arrow, primordial awareness dawned upon him. The explanation that since he drank mead, people of the brahmanical caste said *svāha*, and so he was "Saraha" is a guess by Tibetans, because the literate explain *swāha* as a word that accomplishes the four acts. The ***Sky-clad*** are the Naked Ones.

It seems that, since neither the Lokāyatas nor the Mimāṃsakas propound a path to liberation, they were not refuted.

Devoid of the suchness of bliss,
With only physical austerity,
"Novice," "monk," "elder" they are called;
So are the Buddhist monks become renunciants.
Some are involved in explaining sūtras,
Some cling to the method of single-flavored mind. (37–42)

Having so refuted the many non-Buddhist systems, secondly the Buddhist systems will be refuted. First, a refutation of the Hīnayāna: The eighteen schools which proliferated from the four original Śrāvaka schools: [This verse refers to] ***the suchness of bliss*** which is without impurity. An ***elder*** is one who has taken full ordination and is older than ten [years of age]. A ***bande*** is a monk. The ***method*** of the ***sūtras*** of the Hīnayāna and the Pratyekabuddhas stops short at merely not speaking.

Some rush along the Great Way;
These are the authoritative treatises of the textual traditions. (43–44)

Second, a refutation of the Mahāyāna: ***Some rush along the Great Way*** [such as] Madhyamaka or Cittamātra, or make the Pāramitā the causal vehicle. ***These are the treatises*** which explain ***the textual traditions.***

Still others just meditate on maṇḍala circles,
Some are fixed in explaining the purport of the fourth,
For some [reality] is conceptually visualized as space,
Still others would have [reality] possess emptiness.
In general they are fixed in contradiction. (45–49)

A refutation of the resultant Mantrayāna: ***Still other*** people meditate on the ***maṇḍalas*** of deities, or ***explain the purport of the four*** blisses of the four empowerments. ***Conceptualizing space***: The teacher Mokṣākaragupta explains[17] this as an assertion that the macrocosmic and the microcosmic are similar. [Impermanence] is seen in terms of space, time, and direction. In the first case, space is seen as impermanent because the clouds, planets, and stars [are impermanent]. [In the second case,] since time changes, it is seen to be impermanent. [In the third,] due to the directions of the rising and setting of the sun, [direction] is seen to be impermanent. Furthermore, a simple look at the sky refutes [this]. The view of emptiness is the Madhyamaka. In this connection, other Buddhist paths are refuted by another dohā:

Casting off the short path, do not course the long path.

These [types of Buddhists] are ***generally fixed in contradiction***, for they cannot realize nonconceptual co-emergence through conceptual meditation.

[Ground Co-emergence]

Those who are devoid of co-emergence,
Meditating on cyclic-existence and liberation,
And dividing them,
Will not achieve the latter, the ultimate concern.
How can one who craves some [liberation]
Attain freedom by sitting in concentration?
What use are butter lamps, what use are divine offerings?

> **What can these do? What use is teaching mantras?**
> **There is no use in going to the bathing steps, no use in austerity,**
> **How can one attain freedom by dipping in the water? (50–59)**

Two: Saraha's own system: First, a teaching on the ground co-emergence which is yet to be realized.

Therefore, others who are ***without*** knowledge of ground ***co-emergence***, who ***meditate*** on a path of either external or internal liberation from suffering and ***divide*** [suffering and liberation] ***will not attain the latter***, nonconceptual primordial awareness, from the ***ultimate concern*** of the Madhyamaka school. This [work] claims as the highest truth a primordial awareness free from apprehender and apprehended, and is similar to the Mind-Only School. In the *Compendium of the Essence of Primordial Awareness* it is explained:

> The highest truth of consciousness,
> Which is free of apprehender and apprehended,
> This is asserted by those ocean crossers
> In the works of the Yogācāra.[18]

Therefore, the aforementioned persons who, according to their individual system, crave either the external or internal and remain in such a concentration—how can they obtain liberation from cyclic existence by this? They cannot obtain it. Therefore, ***what use*** are external offerings such as ***butter lamps*** for obtaining ultimately true primordial awareness, and what use are internal offerings for this? ***What use*** is adherence to secret ***mantras***, or reciting mantras for the meditational deity? For it is said in the *Hevajra Tantra*:

> There is no meditator, nothing to be meditated,
> No deity, and neither any mantra.[19]

And in the *Names of Mañjuśrī* it is said:

> Adhering neither to "mine" nor to "I."[20]

What is the use of such ***austerities*** as going near the ***bathing steps*** of non-Buddhists or maintaining the five fires, for if one were to ***obtain liberation by dipping in the water***, it would absurdly follow that all beings who dwell there obtain liberation.

> **Those who are fixed in emptiness while devoid of compassion**
> **Will not acquire the supreme path.**
> **Yet if one were to meditate only on compassion,**
> **Remaining here in Samsara, one will not obtain liberation.**
> **Who can integrate the two**
> **Will remain neither in Samsara nor Nirvana. (60–65)**

Now, the six verse lines [beginning] with ***devoid of compassion*** do not appear in the translation by Stengpa the Translator, or in the commentary of Advayavajra translated by Vairocana. [These lines] do appear in the translation by the

translator-scholar Vajrapāṇi. It is likely that these were inserted later by others for the purpose of eliminating the fault of ignoring spiritual means. If this is explained in terms of the Way of Perfection, it must be said that:

> Because they are aware, [Buddhas] do not remain in existence.
> Because of compassion, [they] do not remain in quiescence.

If [these verses] are explained in terms of mantra, the creation stage must be explained in terms of compassion, and the completion stage in terms of emptiness, because in this text both the creation stage and the [way of] perfection are refuted.

> **Hey, whatever has been said is false and wrong; cast it away!**
> **Give up whatever you lust after!**
> **When you become realized, everything is this,**
> **Nothing else but this is known;**
> **What you read is this, what you meditate is this,**
> **The treatises explained in your heart are also this.**
> **It has no view which can be pointed out,**
> **Yet only from the words of the mentor can it be seen.**
> **One in whose heart the mentor's words have entered**
> **Will as if see a treasure in the palm of their hand. (66–75)**

Hey is an exclamatory call to Padmavajra. ***Give up the lust*** and craving for ***whatever wrong*** and deceptive things ***have been said*** before. ***When you become realized, all*** sentient beings ***are this*** co-emergence. The *Ornament for the Sūtras of the Great Way* says: "While there is not anything else in this world other than this, in this entire world, the deluded consciousness has been dispelled, and whoever lusts after the nonexistent—how great are these types of worldly delusion."[21] And in the *Arcane Attainment* Padmavajra explains:

> Just as sap in a tree,
> Just as sesame oil in the sesamum,
> So in the body, in all its aspects,
> Does the perfection of insight remain.[22]

While ***no one knows anything,*** neither internally nor externally, ***other than this*** co-emergence, ***reading materials,*** treatises, and texts that are explained from ***the heart*** and mind ***are also this*** co-emergence, for [these things] arise from the waves of this [co-emergence]. This co-emergence has no view that can be pointed out, for while the mind is explained from both internal and external views, mind-as-such is co-emergence. Nevertheless, those who have not realized this must ***look to the words of the master alone.*** It is explained in the *Hevajra Tantra*:

> Co-emergence is not told of in any other way,
> It is not acquired anywhere else.
> It must be known through serving the master
> And through merit by oneself.[23]

This [co-emergence] is spoken of by the ***mentor,*** and the student whose ***heart*** and mind this introduction ***has entered*** is similar to one who sees a ***treasure in the palm of*** one's ***hand.*** Thus is the verse parsed. The meaning of these [verses] is this: In the thirteenth chapter of the *Glorious Arcane Essence* it is said:

> Not understanding, wrongly understanding,
> Partially understanding, incorrectly understanding.[24]

If ordinary sentient beings, of which [the above quotation speaks], have primordially not realized co-emergence, then non-Buddhists wrongly realize it. Hearers and Solitary Realizers realize only a part of it, for they understand the self of a person to be the ego. Those of the causal Way of Perfection do not understand this co-emergence correctly. Those of the ultimate Way of Secret Mantra understand the co-emergent primordial awareness through the instruction and introduction of the mentor. Since all minds and mental events of both samsara and nirvana are waves of this co-emergence, and are unitary in it, in the *Latter Tantra of the Glorious Arcane Compendium* it is said:

> Ema'o! The continua of those in Samsara,
> Ema'o! Are the highest Nirvana.[25]

The teacher Nāgārjuna explains the purport of this:

> Samsara and nirvana
> Do not exist as two;
> The nonperception of Samsara,
> Is referred to as Nirvana.

Therefore, since both samsara and nirvana are replete in this co-emergence, it is explained in the *Oral Instructions of Mañjuśrī*:

> Great Perfection, the body of primordial awareness,
> Is the totally pure body, the great Vajradhāra.[26]

The teacher Mokṣākaragupta explains in his commentary: "If someone has a desire for the tutelary deity, [they] must give that up. When [they] become realized, all deities are that [co-emergence], and they will no longer know [co-emergence] as a deity through any means whatsoever."[27] Nāgārjuna explains in the *Hymn to the Diamond of the Mind*:

> People, with their various inclinations,
> Perceive different deities.
> The jewel-mind is not achieved
> As any other deity but liberation.[28]

> **Children do not see the nature of the natural state,**
> **So through mistaking [the natural state] children are fooled,**
> **says Saraha.**
> **Without meditative concentration, without renunciation,**
> **Staying at home, together with your wives,**

Bound by the joys of whatever object:
If one is not liberated through this,
I, Saraha say that you do not know suchness. (76–81)

As children do not know ***the nature of*** such a ***natural state,*** [which is] co-emergence, ***through mistaking*** [the natural state] in terms of subject and object which appear dualistically, they ***are fooled*** and set to wander in samsara. Because of this, for those children nondual suchness is not known through nondual ***meditative concentration,*** and the rest.

If it is manifest, why meditatively concentrate [upon it]?
If it is hidden, you're measuring darkness.
"The nature of co-emergence
Is neither a thing nor not a thing,"
Saraha always laments. (82–86)

If you object that this [co-emergence] is realized by means of a path that involves some accumulation, when [co-emergence] ***is manifest,*** why meditatively concentrate upon it? It becomes needless to meditate. Further, when co-emergence ***is hidden,*** because the mind becomes doubtful, as when ***measuring*** some object in ***the dark,*** you are not able to be liberated. Though it is indeed explained by the commentary that the desire to realize ***co-emergence*** through the experience of the third empowerment should be abandoned, and that the desire by the Mādhyamikas to be liberated through meditating on emptiness should also be abandoned, the former is coherent. When ***the nature of*** this [co-emergence] is pointed out, ***co-emergence is not a thing*** [comprised] of dualistically appearing objects and subjects, for these are just samsara which proliferates due to the unknowing which is not aware of nonduality. As is explained in the *Vārttika*:

For when the corruptions of object and subject
Do not exist, these [characteristics] do not exist.[29]

[Co-emergence] is also ***not a nonthing*** which is nothing at all, for it accomplishes all renunciations and realization. Yet [co-emergence] is nondualistic self-knowing, it is self-knowing, for as is explained in the *Dohā* [of Tilopa]:

The result of this self-knowing;
This is taught by Tilopa.[30]

"That very thing you take up,
which becomes the basis for birth and death,
Achieves the highest great bliss,"
Though Saraha loudly speaks of this secret,
The beasts of the world don't get it—What to do? (87–90)

Taking this [co-emergence] to appear dualistically as subject and object, ***it becomes the basis for birth and death,*** and taking the nondual suchness of this

[co-emergence], ***the highest great bliss,*** buddhahood, ***is achieved.*** "Even though [Saraha] ***speaks*** of this essence of samsara and nirvana, since ***the world does not get it, what is to be done***:" This is [Saraha's] compassionate ***lament.***

[Path Co-emergence]

Since it is free of meditative concentration,
what is there to be meditated upon?
How can what is ineffable be explained?
All the world is fooled by the seal of existence;
The natural state, the nature [of co-emergence]
is not taken up by anyone. (91–94)

Through the great seal of nonmentation, this causal co-emergence becomes path co-emergence, which is the second topic.

Since [path co-emergence] ***is free of meditative concentration*** which entails an objective referent, there is nothing at all ***to meditate upon,*** and since it ***cannot be*** understood even if ***spoken*** of with words, there is also nothing to ***explain. The nature*** of such [path co-emergence], ***the natural state, is not*** something that is ***taken up by*** or appears due to any transmigrators, because they are obscured ***by the seal of existence,*** by having entered into ***the world*** with karmic acts and mental afflictions.

No tantra, no mantra, nothing to meditate on,
no meditative concentration.
These all are causes which delude your ego.
Do not corrupt your mind, whose nature is pure,
with meditative concentrations.
Station the true self in bliss, and cause it no torment. (95–98)

Therefore, [there are no things in co-emergence] such as ***tantras*** and ***meditative concentrations*** which entail an objective referent, for ***those are the causes that delude your ego*** in terms of dualistic appearances. It is said in Tilopa's *Dohā*;

Do not denigrate the nature of nonmentation
With falsehoods.[31]

And it is said in the *Hevajra Tantra*:

Therefore, not conceived (as it is) by ego,
The whole world is to be conceived.[32]

Do not corrupt the mind whose nature is pure, [i.e.] co-emergence, ***with meditative concentrations*** which entail an objective referent; this restricts the ***true self.***

"Basking in eating, drink, and sex
Fills the nodes again and again,

Through such a teaching, the ends of the earth are reached";
Stamp down such deluded defenders[33] **of the world**
and move on. (99–102)

A refutation of the assertion that liberation occurs by means of such activities as tantric feasts: "***Eating*** . . . ," [refers to] nodes of flesh and bone, and "the ends . . . are reached" is explained in the *Compendium*:

Those with egos lusting after samsara always transmigrate.

Such ***deluded ones stamp on*** their own ***heads with their feet***[34], and continue on to the end.

Those in whom the breath and mind do not move,
And the sun and moon are uninvolved,
Ignorant ones, you must rest your breath.
Saraha has taught all instructions and gone away. (103–106)

Those in whom the breath, steed of the mind, ***and the mind*** which rides upon it ***do not move***, and the left and right breaths ***are without*** movement due to the Great Seal instructions on breath, they ***should rest their breath*** and find comfort from suffering. "***All instructions***, either with or without characteristics"; [this is what is] implied [by this verse].

Do not divide, do not unify,
Do not fabricate differences in kind;
Transform the whole of these three realms
Into one color, one great passion.
Here there is no beginning, middle, or end,
No existence, no nirvana. (107–112)

Furthermore, getting rid of all dualistic appearances through nonmentation turn them into nondual co-emergence. Without ***dividing*** in terms of the four castes, or two teachings, all the propensities of the three realms that exist in one's own continuum, are passions, and [they] must be ***transformed into one color***, an essence, [which is] ***great passion***, [or in other words which is] nondual co-emergence. And in that transformation there is not ***beginning*** arising, no ***middle existence***, and no ***end*** cessation. In the glorious *Guhyasamāja* it is explained:

Your own mind, primordially nonarising,
Has the nature of emptiness.[35]

This [great passion, co-emergence,] is not existence, [i.e.,] the mind which transmigrates, but it is also not nirvana, [i.e.,] the mental state of a Hearer or a Solitary Realizer. In the *Jewel Garland* it is explained:

Released from acts of sin and merit,
Endowed with purpose deep and free,

[This] is a place where fear is not felt,
Of neither Buddhists nor non-Buddhists.

In this highest great bliss,
There is no self, there is no other.
In front, behind, throughout the ten directions,
Whatever you see, that is this.
This very day the protector cuts away errancy,
Now you need not ask anyone else. (113–118)

This [co-emergence] is ***the highest great bliss***, the very head of the enlightened body of reality. In the *Knowing Death Sūtra* it is said; "When mind is understood, it is primordial wisdom, so the inclination not to search elsewhere for buddhahood should be cultivated.

Mind is the continuum in which primordial awareness arises:
Search nowhere else for buddhahood."[36]

And in the *Oral Instruction of Mañjuśrī* it is said:

The master of all things
Is the essence of one's own mind; If this is realized,
[The mind] itself is buddhahood, is enlightenment.[37]

For primordial awareness such as this, ***anything*** whatsoever that ***is seen in front, behind, or in the ten directions*** [is] ***this***. ***This day, the very*** time in which this is realized, ***the protector*** Saraha ***cuts away the errancy*** of dualistic appearances of subject and object. Because of this, there is ***no*** cause for ***asking anyone*** about the way in which samsara and nirvana exist.

Where the senses subside,
Your own essence dissolves,
Friends, this is the body of co-emergence.
Ask the master to clarify this.
Where the ego is bound, and the breath has passed,
On this place reside limbs.
This the deluded should know in-between.
Who knows to stop the ocean of stupor,
Is this highest great bliss.
Saraha has taught this and gone away. (119–128)

An explanation of the way in which dualistic appearances subside: The apprehending faculty subsides into co-emergence through nonmentation, and through this [nonmentation] the apprehended essence dissolves and becomes non-existent. In the *Compendium of the Great Way* it is explained:

Because nothing appears as an object
To nonconceptual primordial awareness,
[You] should understand deeply that objects do not exist.[38]

And in the *Sixty Verses on Reasoning* it is explained:

> The great elements and so forth which have been explained
> Are absorbed in consciousness.
> By knowing them, one is free of them.
> Are they not falsely imputed?[39]

'***Friends***' is a vocative. ***This*** [state] such as [described above] ***is the body*** and essence ***of co-emergence***. The concern which one a***sks about for clarity*** is that very explanation [given by Saraha]. Also, ***where the ego dies***,[40] and where ***the breath*** that rides upon it ***passes***, the continuum [of rebirths] comes to be severed. The totality of the five or six classes, the transmigrating limbs, ***reside*** in the three realms, underground, ***on earth*** or in heaven. ***Those who are ignorant*** of the nonduality of those [three realms], who are deluded regarding them, ***should know in-between*** samsara. This ***knowledge which stops the ocean of stupor*** of those deluded about nonduality is the highest great bliss; it is nirvana. Thus ***has Saraha taught*** samsara and nirvana.

> **Kyeho, this is self-awareness;**
> **Do not turn this into error.**
> **Thing and no-thing are bonds for one passed into bliss.**
> **Without separating existence and sameness,**
> **Turn the ego in its natural state toward singularity, Yogin.**
> **Be aware of this like water poured in water.**
> **Liberation is not gained through faulty meditative concentration;**
> **It is like being embraced by a web of illusion. (129–136)**

'***Kyeho***' is a vocative. ***Do not turn this*** co-emergence, this nondual self-awareness ***into error***, into dualistically appearing co-emergence. Conceptualizing whether or not it is ***a thing or a non-thing is a bond for one who has passed into bliss***. Set ***the ego in its natural state*** as ground co-emergence ***to a singular*** point without conceptualizing existence or nonexistence. At this time ***yogins*** should nondually ***be aware*** of the realm of reality and primordial awareness, ***like water*** mixed with ***water***. ***Liberation*** from samsara for the mind ***cannot be gained through faulty meditative concentration***, be it external or internal, which has not realized this, and ***the web of illusion***, the action seal which you now rely upon should be abandoned. In the *Arcane Accomplishment* of Padmavajra it is explained:

> Giving up the wrathful action seal,
> The seal of women,
> Meditate upon the great seal,
> With your body, which is endowed with the means.[41]

> **With joyous faith in the words of the holy master,**
> **"I have nothing to say," says Saraha.**
> **Looking and looking at the nature of the primordially pure sky,**
> **Vision of it ceases.**
> **As in time even [conceptuality] ceases. (137–141)**

Furthermore, through having faith in the teachings of the holy master, there is nothing that is spoken in certainty upon which you must meditate. In the *Glorious Primordial Buddha Tantra* it is said:

If you are placed well in nonconceptuality
In the center of the sky of the mind,
Which is not the external sky,
Then you will realize nonconceptual great bliss.

And in the *Enlightenment of Vairocana* it is said: "The arcane master, enlightenment, is known to be just like one's own mind [when it is] totally purified; within it not even a particle of phenomena exists or is perceived. It [has] the characteristic of space. Mind, the nature of sky, and the nature of mind are the nature of enlightenment, and these three are nondual, will not become divided.

Looking at suchness [consists of the following;] one ***has looked*** in this way to the mind [with a] ***primordially pure nature*** like ***the sky***, and the vision of dualistically appearing subjects and objects ***ceases***. In this regard, [according to] the teacher Mokṣākaragupta,[42] "***At such a time [conceptuality] ceases***" [means that] through daytime yogic practice one looks at the sky which is without clouds, [which is] without a ceiling during the daytime, and thus conceptuality is ceased. In the *Primordial Buddha Tantra* it is said: "With full sight one looks at the cloudless sky." [Mokṣākaragupta] explains according to this text that the gaze of six-limbed yoga is developed. There are three texts of his on this, and they should be known in detail from a master.

The cause of not realizing such co-emergence:

The fool is deceived about the innate by faults.
What's more, he criticizes everybody.
Through fault of arrogance he cannot point out suchness;
The whole world becomes deluded by meditative concentration.
The nature of the innate is not pointed out by anybody.
The root of the mind is not pointed out;
Where the three facets of co-emergence arise,
Where they recede, where they reside,
Is not clearly known.
Whoever thinks upon the suchness which is free of a root,
Would do well to see the instructions of the master. (142–152)

The innate egoic awareness is co-emergence. ***The fool is deceived by faults*** about it. Because people who cling to philosophical systems desire their own system, they ***criticize everybody***, and ***through the fault of arrogance*** they do not realize ***suchness***. ***The whole world***s of the two upper realms in which this is not done nevertheless are ***deluded by*** conceptual ***meditative concentration***, so ***the innate***, co-emergence ***is not*** realized ***by anybody***. ***The root of the mind***, whose nature is co-emergence and luminosity, ***is not*** known. ***Where the three facets of co-***

emergence, [i.e.,] that of the ground, path, and result, ***arise***, [i.e.,] the mind, ***where they recede*** and ***where they reside*** [i.e.,] co-emergence, ***is not clearly known*** by those [people]. In the *Buddha's Diamond Top-Knot Tantra* it is said: "All virtuous and nonvirtuous concepts arise from the luminosity of the mind and there become settled." The meaning of this is explained in Noble Nāgabodhi's *Discriminating the Limits of Karmic Activity*:

> Clouds arise completely from the recesses of the thunderous sky,
> When they circle through the ten directions they are seen disappear [into] this very [sky] once more.
> Just so, the consciousnesses come forth from luminosity and recede [into this] once more;
> [Its] nature dwells in various facets, and disappears into this.[43]

In the *Glorious Arcane Essence* it is said;

> The mind itself, foundationless,
> Is suchness, the realm, primordial wisdom.[44]

Whoever thinks upon the suchness of the mind ***which is free from root*** is fit to come to realize this ground which is correctly attained by ***the master***.

> **The nature of samsara is the essence of the mind.**
> **Fools, know all these words spoken by Saraha.**
> **The nature of the innate cannot be told with words,**
> **Yet the instructions of the master may be seen with the eye.**
> **Delighting in both dharma and non-dharma, partake;**
> **In these there is not a speck of evil.**
> **When the innate mind has been purified,**
> **The enlightened qualities of the master will enter your heart.**
> **Realizing so, Saraha sings this song,**
> **Though he has not seen a single mantra, a single tantra.**
> **Beings are fettered individually by karmic action;**
> **If each action is released, the egoic mind is released.**
> **If one's own continuum is released,**
> **there is no certainly other.**
> **The supreme nirvana will be attained. (153–166)**

The nature of samsara is mind: In the *Questions of Subāhu Tantra* it is said;

> A mind that has afflicted mental states such as desire and craving
> Is always referred to as samsara.
> Freed from afflictions, like a crystal or like the moon,
> [A mind] is hailed as the end of the ocean of existence.[45]

"***Fools***," is a vocative. "***Know*** well everything as I have ***spoken***." The nature, the innate, co-emergence is not expressible through words, by which it cannot

be known. [Even] seeing is conceptual. ***Dharma and non-dharma*** are the concepts of virtue and nonvirtue. ***Delighting*** and purifying, [these can be] ***partaken*** of, eaten and drunk, and though the body will not be transformed into a god by this, ***there is no evil***. Through continuously ***purifying*** this co-emergence, ***the enlightened qualities of the master***, the Buddha, arise in [your] mind; even though [you] do ***not*** know ***a mantra***, a sūtra, or ***a tantra***, this is still possible.

Here it says that the six [classes of] living ***beings are individually fettered by their karmic actions***, and that they are ***released*** through exhausting karmic action. This is the system of the Nirgranthas, but Buddhists claim that one is released by exhausting the afflictive emotions; ***there is no other***, or rather no other [way] is needed.

Mind itself alone is the seed of all,
From which existence and nirvana emanate.
To the mind, a wish-fulfilling jewel,
Which grants what fruit is desired, I pay homage.
Because the mind is bound, so one is bound.
If just this is released, there is no doubt.
By that which binds the fool,
The astute are quickly released.
The mind must be apprehended like the sky,
Just like the sky, so should the mind be held.
When this egoic-thought becomes nonegoic,
By this unexcelled enlightenment will be attained. (167–178)

Mind itself alone, whether a ground of ***all*** is asserted or not, is egoic awareness mixed with radiant light. This is glossed by saying that, owing to the seed of its virtue, it is ***a jewel*** out of which arises whatever actions one desires, and whatever one can think about. Mokṣākaragupta explains[46] the above to be causal co-emergence, and the ensuing to be the co-emergence of means. Depending on whether ***the mind*** is ***bound or liberated*** by afflictive emotions and conceptualization, it is samsara or nirvana; the astute are released by that which ***binds*** ignorant ***fools***. In the *Hevajra Tantra* it is said:

By whatever binds the world,
The astute are totally freed.[47]

Therefore all ***thoughts*** of something which is bound and something which binds ***should be held to be like the sky***. The totality of all phenomena, aggregates such as form and feeling, the sense fields, and organs of perception are seen to be ***like the sky***. In the *Exposition on the Mind of Enlightenment* it is explained:

In a mind without referent,
Dwells the character of sky,
This meditation on sky,
Is said to be a meditation on emptiness.[48]

Consciousness of conceptualized and conceptualizer
Is not seen by the Tathāgatas;
Where there are conceptualized and conceptualizer,
Where is there enlightenment?[49]

Concepts of virtue and nonvirtue
Are characterized by discontinuity;
The victors call them empty,
The others do not claim that they are empty.[50]

So, if the mind is conceived of as inconceivable and beyond the ken of thought, ***the unexcelled is attained***. In the *Tantra of the Acts of All Dākas* it is explained:

If it is conceived of as inconceivable,
A form beyond this will be attained.

If [the mind] is taken to be like sky, the wind is quelled;
Being totally aware of sameness, they subside.
When you have the ability spoken of by Saraha,
Impermanence and instability become quickly abandoned.
If wind, fire, and the great elements are ceased,
When the ambrosia flows, wind enters the mind.
When the four yogas are settled in one place,
The sky cannot contain such supreme bliss. (179–186)

The mind is ***taken to be like the sky***, ***the wind is bound***, and thus mind and wind are immovable and known to be ***the same***, co-emergent. Thus both wind and mind ***subside*** in luminosity. When one is seen to ***have the ability*** spoken of here, ***impermanence and instability*** are turned around. When one meditates so, the four elements are ceased, and the great power is the earth. ***Ambrosia*** is nonconceptual primordial awareness. When the ***wind*** and the other elements ***enter the mind, the four*** elements that make up the five psychophysical aggregates ***are settled within one*** foundation, consciousness. At this time a ***great bliss*** arises which is just like ***the sky***. This is also similar to what is explained in *Discriminating the Limits of Karmic Activity*:

First earth is placed in water;
Water dissolves in fire,
Fire dissolves in wind,
Wind is placed in consciousness,
Passing beyond the apprehension of consciousness,
Luminosity settles there.[51]

By developing such a nonconceptual primordial awareness, as it is said in *The Enlightenment of Vairocana*:

If this is meditated upon,
A body like a rainbow will be attained.[52]

And:

> If one is free of knowing this. . . .
> . . . a body which is like a rainbow arises which travels in the sky.

> **In home upon home stories of it are told,**
> **Yet where great bliss lives is unknown.**
> **All beings are belittled by thought, says Saraha;**
> **The inconceivable is nothing which is established.**
> **In all beings suchness exists,**
> **Yet this is not realized.**
> **Because the nature of everything is of a single taste,**
> **Primordial awareness is unsurpassed by thought. (187–194)**

Stories made up about co-emergence in all ***houses*** by minds [18b] that ***do not know where great bliss lives, belittle*** and obscure [people] with the conceptual ***thought*** of all beings. Also, because [these stories] belittle the sacred master who teaches this [co-emergence], ***the inconceivable is not established***, it is difficult to understand, and it is not able to be established. Because [it] exists in all living beings, ***everything*** that exists has the ***same taste.*** The term for this co-emergence is ***primordial awareness which is unsurpassed by thought***.

> **Yesterday, today, tomorrow and beyond**
> **People claim that things are the best.**
> **Kyeho! Good people, like water trickling from full cupped hands,**
> **You are not feeling the loss.**
> **When you realize with certainty action and nonaction,**
> **There is no bondage, there is no release.**
> **It is without letters, so who among one hundred yogins**
> **Who claim that it can be explained do point it out? (195–202)**

To the lazy people who claim that today, tomorrow, and throughout the many stages [of life] they are achieving the goals of this life, [Saraha] calls out, ***"Kyeho! Good people." Like*** not feeling ***water trickling from full cupped hands, they do not feel*** their own ***loss*** of the liberating path. ***When you realize*** co-emergence either with ***the action or nonaction*** of bodily and verbal actions, you are neither bound in samsara nor let free. Co-emergence ***is without the letters*** of verbal expression and cannot be understood by these; ***what yogin*** who applies egoic awareness, with its discontinuous conceptuality, to [co-emergence] ever ***points it out*** or realizes it?

> **If this mind, bound with tangled knots, is loosened,**
> **It will doubtless be released.**
> **Things by which the deluded are bound,**
> **By them the astute are released.**
> **What is bound strives to run to the ten directions,**
> **If this is seen, it stays unmoving and firm.**
> **This paradox is like the camel; so I understand.**

Children, you also should look into yourselves.
Kyela! Look with your senses;
Than this I have realized no more.
In the presence of a person who is done with karmic activity,
You must sever the cord of the mind. (203–214)

Like loosening a thread, ***the mind*** which is ***bound by the tangled knots*** of afflictive emotions and conceptualization ***is loosened*** into nonconceptualization. and if it is settled there, the afflictive emotions and conceptualization ***will doubtless be released.*** The two ***things by which the deluded are bound*** are those by which ***the astute*** become ***released***, for in knowing that those two are not the nature of the mind, [the astute] prevail with primordial awareness. For example a captive who is ***bound strives to run***, and if set free he ***stays***. This teaching is ***a paradox*** in terms of what is likely; when something is bound, it would run, and when wit is bound it would sit. "***This is what I understand***," [says Saraha]. Tengpa the Translator translates this [verse];

Look at the camel; it is like him.
If I analyze, even I see it so.

Master Vairo [translates]: "Friends, this is like the camel; This paradox. . . ." This exemplifies [the teaching]: When the camel is loaded up, he goes, and when he is unloaded he sleeps.

In the way in which I have realized, ***children, you*** should also feel ***within your*** own being; no sooner than these two [things] have arisen, you must allow them to subside as the nature of the mind, without clinging to them, and you must look upon, that is, cultivate, nonconceptual primordial awareness.

Having so taught the causes of bondage and freedom, [the following is given] in order to teach the means to freedom. "***Kyela***," says [Saraha,] "***you must look [with] your senses.***" As was explained earlier, you must look at the cloudless sky, and do not hypostatise with egoic awareness this cloudless sky, "***than which I have realized no more.***" The teacher Mokṣākaragupta explains[53] [the above in terms of] day and night yogas with visual signs. Alternatively, [this verse could be read as:] ***Look*** at ***the sense*** of primordial awareness, that is, co-emergence; ***I have not realized any other*** means to freedom, so you must ***cease*** your reifications of mind ***in the presence of*** yourself, ***of a being who is done with karmic activity*** and without cause for business.

Do not think to yourself of binding the wind,
Wooden yogin, do not put it at the tip of your nose!
Oh, this is not it. Long for the highest co-emergent bliss,
Forsake for good this binding at the peak of existence.
As this condenses egoic awareness,
Waves of wind churn and rise, become unruly. (215–220)

Other than that, ***do not think of*** grasping ***the wind. Do not put*** a rigid mind in the drop ***at*** such [places] as ***the tip of the nose***, in a way that you cling to the

mind. "***Oh***," is a vocative. All these conceptual meditations such as this ***are not*** the way to liberation, so you must meditate upon ***co-emergence*** with ***longing***. ***Forsake*** such things as ***the peak*** of previous ***existences***; because egoic awareness, which arrests the wind, is condensed, ***waves of wind churn and arouse*** the body and mind, and the body and mind ***become unruly*** and crazed. This is much like when modern trends cause such problems in the winds of exertion as craziness or split-heads.

When you realize the nature of co-emergence,
Through this the Self will be stable.
When egoic awareness is nearly ceased,
The bonds of the body will be severed.
When [the mind] is of the same taste as co-emergence,
There is no lowly caste, there is no brahmin. (221–226)

When one remains in co-emergence, the ***Self*** of one's mind ***will be stable***. ***When egoic awareness*** has subsided and one remains in the nonconceptuality of co-emergence, the painful ***bonds of the body*** and mind ***will be severed***. ***When the mind is of the same taste as co-emergence***, concepts such as ***lowly caste*** and ***brahmin*** which continue in sentient beings are severed.

This is the River Yamunā,
This is the River Gaṇgā,
Vārāṇasī and Prayaga,
This is the moon and sun.
Some speak of realization as having traveled and seen all lands,
The major and minor places of pilgrimage.
Yet even in dreams I have no vision [of these]. {232a}
There is no other boundary region like the body;
I, virtuous, have seen this for good and with certainty.
Stay in the mountain hermitage and practice self-restraint. {234a} (227–234)

[Saraha] has shown what is not the means to realize co-emergence, and what is not the transcendent means. [Now he] teaches the means for one's body and mind. In this world there are all sorts of places such as Water Crystal Lake and the Ocean of the Moon, the ***River Gaṇgā, Vārāṇasī*** and the ghats of ***Prayaga***, the [place] where the body is lit by ***the sun and moon***, Mumu, and the twenty-four ***major and minor places of pilgrimage*** such as Oddiyana. [Saraha says;] "But ***I do not say that by traveling and seeing these*** one realizes co-emergence. Even in unfettered and unending dreams I, Saraha, ***have had no vision*** of any realization through these places. Circling ***the boundary regions*** of my body and my mind, my memory, I, Saraha, ***have seen with certainty*** that co-emergence resides in those two lakes of the abiding clear-light mind as such."

Another place of realization, a bathing ghat
Better than this body, I have not seen.

This is the good translation.

Therefore ***stay in the mountain hermitage*** of the body and mind, abandon non-restraint and ***practice self restraint***.

A refutation of channels and winds:

On the stalk of a petaled lotus, in the center of the corolla,
A very subtle fiber, fragrant and colored:
Such distinctions come and make the deluded suffer.
Do not turn the fruit for which you long into nothing. (235–238)

One should give up meditation in which one develops many circuits of channels and [meditates] on ***distinctions such as a fiber in the center of*** its ***corolla, fragrance, and color***. Through this one ***suffers*** from the faults explained previously.

When Brahma, Viśṇu, and three-eyed [Śiva],
Illegitimates who have become the foundation for all the world,
Are worshipped, the accumulations of karma
Become wasted. (239–242)

Since co-emergence itself is an uncontrived divinity which primordially dwells, the worship of external gods is refuted: The [text] says, "in places in which. . . ." "***Three-eyed***," refers to Śiva. ***Worshipping these illegitimates who have become the foundation for all*** non-Buddhist devotion, the ***accumulations of*** virtuous ***karma*** on the part of Buddhists ***become wasted***. Therefore, these should be abandoned. Tilopa explains:

Enlightenment exists within you, so do not bow down
To Brahma, Viśṇu, or Śiva.
Do not worship the gods, do not go to the ghats,
For even though you worship the gods, you will not attain liberation.
With a nonconceptual mind, you must worship the Buddha.[54]

A refutation of those who debate tenets:

Kyeho! Listen children. People who know the taste of debate to be joyful
Fetter people, they explain and recite, yet they are not able to know this.
Kyeho! Listen children. The taste of the various philosophies
They are not able to teach.
When the concept of the supreme existence of bliss is abandoned,
It is like a person growing up. (243–248)

"*Kyeho*. . . ." Those ***who know*** the mountain of ***tastes*** of disagreeable ***debate to be joyful fetter*** both Buddhist and non-Buddhist ***people, they recite*** texts, and thus ***they do not know*** co-emergence. ***They are not able to teach*** the nondual taste of the various philosophies as proffered by Buddhists and non-Buddhists. Even though they may have offerings for ***blissful*** and nonconceptual gods, they are still just like ordinary ***people***.

Intellect is ceased, egoic awareness overcome,
Where visible pride is severed,
You realize suchness to be the supreme nature of illusion.
What use is there in binding this with meditative concentration?
If the nature of what arises as concrete objects is like the sky,
After abandoning things, what arises? (249–254)

Conceptual ***intellect is ceased***, the object and subject of ***egoic awareness*** pass away, the seven types of ***pride*** are ***severed***, and nondual ***suchness is realized to be the supreme nature of illusion***. Here, ***what use is conceptual meditative concentration***? The ***concrete objects*** of object and subject are ***abandoned*** by primordial awareness and pass away ***like*** a cloudless ***sky***, nevermore to ***arise***.

Today the glorious master has taught
That nature is primordially nonarising, so I understand.
Seeing, hearing, feeling, memory,
Eating, smelling, wandering, going, and staying,
Chitchat and conversation;
If you know that these are mind,
nothing moves from this unitary kind. (255–260)

Today, abandon the various divisions of conceptual thought and so remain. ***Seeing, hearing***, and so forth can be no more than dream visions in the life of the ***mind***.

Who does not drink to satiation the panacea,
The amrosial waters of the master's instruction,
Though he may drink many treatises,
On the plains of suffering, he will be pained and die.
Were the master not to relate his teaching,
The student would not understand.
How could the taste of ambrosia,
Co-emergence, be taught, and by whom?
Under the sway of grasping at valid cognitions,
Fools grasp at details.
At such times, play in the house of a peasant;
Though it is filthy, you will not be sullied. (261–272)

"***Who*** . . ." [refers to] those who explain textual systems. Even they teach on the basis of the ***master's explanation*** of co-emergence. Therefore, it is said that "the master teaches with words," so who else is able to teach but the

master? If the ***foolish student grasps*** at the teachings of the master as a "***valid cognition***," he knows a ***detail***. [The astute, by contrast,] even though having gone ***into the house of a peasant, are not sullied*** by faults.

When you go begging, you go with a bowl from the street;
If I were a king, what use would it be afterwards?
Abandoning distinction, you dwell in suchness,
Nature unwavering, spontaneous equipoise,
You dwell in nirvana; you are splendorous in samsara.
Do not prescribe one remedy for the other disease.
Abandoning the thinking and the thought,
You should live just as would a little child.
If you keep with and strive in the words of the master,
That co-emergence will arise there is no doubt. (273–282)

Even if one is a beggar using ***a bowl*** cast out in ***the street when begging***, there is no one at all who can harm you, there is no one more powerful than yourself, for the true Self is ***a king***. The teacher Lūyipa tells a similar tale:

The ground a great bed, the pads of your hands wound into a pillow,
The sun and moon lamps shining bright, the wind a pleasing fan,
Under the sky your canopy, free from desire you practice with the empty maiden.
Kyema! Fearless yogin, sleeping right here in the world, you are a king.

After the mind is liberated and dwells as the enlightened body of reality, when the body is alive it is ***splendorous***. ***Not prescribing one remedy for the other disease***: Not prescribing anything else than nonconceptuality of the disease of conceptuality, ***abandon thinking***, [i.e.,] conceptuality, ***and the thought*** [i.e.,] the conceptual object. When you go around, ***live*** nonconceptually, ***just as would a small child***. If you ***strive*** faithfully ***in the words of the master***, co-emergence such as is [here described] will emerge.

Free of color, quality, words, and examples,
It cannot be spoken, and in vain I point it out.
Like the bliss of a young woman, desirous in love,
Who can teach its noble power to whom? (283–286)

This co-emergence is ***free of color***, form, ***words***, or any qualities of sound, smell, taste, or sensation. It cannot be illustrated with ***examples***, and therefore ***I am unable to speak*** of it through such examples as these. What is ***pointed out*** by the master [and yet] cannot be spoken of is ***like the bliss of a young woman***. It is not ***the noble power*** of the enlightened qualities such as the six clairvoyances, and since it is supreme, who ***can teach it to whom***? The *Supreme Continuum* states:

Pristine existence, clairvoyance, and
Pristine primordial awareness are inseparable.
Therefore, they possess equal attributes,
As do the appearance, the warmth, and the hue of a lamp.[55]

In terms of the luminescent nature of the mind, clairvoyance, primordial awareness, and the absence of impurity are explained in terms of the three attributes of a lamp.

Where thing and nonthing are totally severed,
The entire world vanishes.
When egoic awareness does not stir and is firm in its own place,
Then it is free on its own from the things of samsara.
When there is absolutely no awareness of self and other,
Then the unsurpassed body is attained.
Without being mistaken in certainty through such a teaching,
Develop awareness of this in yourself, by yourself,
Then things are not atoms, not non-atoms, not even mind:
They are primordially without desire.
What Saraha has said is exhausted in just this. (287–297)

Sever concepts of co-emergence as being a ***nonthing***, and in that abandonment ***the entire world*** of samsara and nirvana ***vanishes*** and ***becomes*** equal. The *Hevajra Tantra* states:

Sentient beings are themselves buddhas,
Save for being obscured by incidental stains.
When these are cleared away, they are buddhas.[56]

When egoic awareness does not stir from co-emergence and is firm, then like clouds dissipating in the sky, all the things of samsara—the afflictive emotions and divisive concepts—become free on their own. When there is no concept of self or other, then the supreme, the superior noble body is attained. ***Without being mistaken*** about what **I** [Saraha] have ***taught***, you must develop awareness ***by yourself*** and fix it ***in your*** own mental stream. And in your so doing, all external things shine like illusions in a dream: They are ***not atoms***, and they are also ***not*** the existential negation of atoms. They are ***not even mind***, but something ***without desire***, ***primordially*** undetermined as things. Furthermore, the reality of the mind—which is not those three—shines. What's more, the empty form of meditating on co-emergence shines as an appearing form that is not those three, and this is the sign of primordial awareness arising. The essential point of co-emergence is ***exhausted in just this***.

Kyeho! Be aware of everything as stainless ultimate reality.
You are inside the house, yet you go outside and search;
You have seen the householder, yet you go and ask the neighbors!
Saraha says; be aware of the Self.

This is neither meditative concentration, something to be thought,
nor recitations by a fool.
When, though the master has taught and I know everything,
I define it to the utmost, how then can I achieve liberation? (298–304)

With "***Kyeho*** [etc.," Saraha] presents a simile about how even though [co-emergence] exists in you, you do not realize it. ***All*** sentient beings ***should be aware that the stainless ultimate reality*** is there. It can be understood like this: You are in the house where [the householder] is, but you don't know it and you go outside. You've ***seen the householder, and yet you go and ask the neighbors***. [Co-emergence] is not realized through such things as ***the concentrative meditation of fools***, which was refuted earlier. "***Even though I know*** such as has ***been taught by the master***, if ***I***, Saraha, do not know [co-emergence through] my own analysis, I will not ***attain liberation***.

Though you wander lands, suffer torments,
Co-emergence is not found, and you are stricken with evil.
Partake of objects and do not be sullied by them,
Like the lotus flower untouched by water.
Just so, yogin, take refuge at the root.
Does poison harm one with a poison spell? (305–310)

Though you ***wander*** the twenty-four regions and ***lands***, you ***suffer torments***, and you are sullied with a multitude of sins. If co-emergence were to dawn in your mind, though you would rely on objects of desire, you would ***not be sullied*** by their evil, just as ***the lotus*** lives in ***the water*** but ***is not sullied by*** it.

Just so, yogin, take refuge at the root.

This translation is good.

For this reason, take refuge in the root of all samsara and nirvana, in the co-emergence which dawns in your mind. And because of being protected by this, as it is said in the *All Accomplishing Tantra*:

For one whose mind is of a nondual nature,
There is nothing that cannot be done.

Therefore, you are like ***one who has a poison spell who cannot be harmed by poison***.

Though you give ten thousand offerings to the gods,
The Self is bound by them; what use are they?
Such things do not sever samsara,
Do not realize the nature of the innate,
are not able to transcend. (311–314)

"To one's own or other's ***gods***," "***With such offerings***," "Meditate on this co-emergence," "All of ***samsara***:" [this is how the verse should be] rendered.

Long ago, when Lord Atiśa was reciting the dohās at Samye Chimpu and

they translated the passage "*What use lamps . . .* ," Dromton said; "This will bring harm to the teachings." Regarding this it is said that when [Dromton said] "If you translate '*lamps . . .* ,' some real harm will come," [Atiśa] rejected this, though when the translation was finished it was put in a stūpa. Here it is taught that one will not actually attain liberation with offerings to the Buddhist gods, though this is not an out-and-out rejection of offerings.

A teaching on the real causes of the dawning of co-emergence:

> **Eyes not shut, mental activity ceased,**
> **The master realized the cessation of the wind.**
> **When the wind flows, he does not waver.**
> **When his time of dying comes, what will the yogin do? (315–318)**

"***Eyes . . .***": "***ceasing***" and "***cessation***" [mean] unwavering. This should be understood from the master. If he does not meditate on this now, ***when his time of dying comes***, when the wind moves and a wavering luminescence dawns, ***what will the yogin do***? For, since his time is short, the luminescence will not be complete. Steng Lotsawa translates [line 318] as: "When he dies, time is up."

An explanation of the faults of unrestrained wind:

> **For as long as the senses have been lost in the city of objects,**
> **They have never gone beyond you yourself.**
> **Hey, think about what you are doing, where you are going right now!**
> **Take up this very difficult thought:**
> **What and where it is,**
> **These are not seen.**
> **All the scholars who explain the treatises,**
> **Do not understand that the Buddha exists in the body. (319–326)**

As long as the senses and awareness are ***lost in objects*** and various bad karmic acts are performed because of wind, ***you must think now about what you are doing right now*** and ***where you are going***[57] later. "***Hey***" is a vocative. The *Prophecy on the Intention of the Tantras* states:

> The various mundane designations,
> Divisive conceptuality, and enlightenment,
> Always arise from wind.

Therefore, ***take up the thought*** of the Buddha, which is so very ***difficult*** to realize. At that time, yogin, you must settle into a nonconceptuality in which ***whatever*** an object is and ***where*** an object ***is are not seen***. If ***all the scholars*** are without the spiritual instruction of the master, they ***do not realize that*** co-emergence ***exists in the body***.

An illustration of how to take [co-emergence] into your experience:

> **If one were to train an elephant, its mind would be sure;**
> **It would cease going about, and would be at ease.**
> **If you understand just so, there is no ground for question at all.**
> **Scholars do not know this, for they are shameless. (327–330)**

Like the grazing ***elephants*** that stay put with contented minds after being ***trained***, the unwavering mind ***ceases coming and going and is at ease*** and has contented realization. [And yet] the ***shameless*** and immodest ***scholar*** says [to] himself, "I have no need of a yoga that realizes the dharma."

> **For a living being who does not change,**
> **How will old age and death come?**
> **The stainless intellect taught by the master**
> **Is a treasury of suchness; what other could there be? (331–334)**

Just as it is impossible that ***living beings age and die without*** their bodies ***changing***, without the spiritual teachings of the master, by ***what else*** is one liberated? For ***the intellect*** which is obtained ***from the master is a*** precious ***treasure***—the realization of the suchness of the mind. ***Lo*** is a connective particle that [expresses] discontent.

> **Objects are totally purified, unable to be relied upon;**
> **To be taken up only as emptiness.**
> **Just like the bird who flies from the ship,**
> **Circling, circling, and landing there again. (335–338)**

Objects such as things with form ***are unable to be relied upon*** or seen as things. They should be ***taken up only as emptiness*** that is purified of thingness. The mind cannot return to it. For example, when you grab a ***bird*** that has landed on a boat, you cannot control it, everybody ends up in the water and you cannot get back on deck. Then the [bird] returns to the [deck]! Just so, the mind that wanders out to objects also ***lands*** on emptiness. Āryadeva explains:

> Wherever egoic awareness goes,
> It takes suchness up as an object of knowledge.
> Because it is the nature of everything,
> It goes wherever [egoic awareness] has gone.[58]

> **Just the sight of a snake-like black rope**
> **And they are terrified.**
> **Friends, good people are**
> **Bound by the faults of object dualism. (339–342)**[59]

> **Be not bound by a longing for objects,**
> **Kyeho! Fools, Saraha speaks;**

The fish, the moth, the elephant and bee,
The wild deer—look at what they do.
Whatever emanates from the mind,
That is the nature of the lord;
Are the water and the waves any different?
Existence and sameness are of the nature of the sky. (343–350)

Therefore, ***do not bind yourself by longing for objects*** as things. "***Kyeho! Fools*** . . ." is an evocation. The ***fish*** desires the taste of the bait on the hook, ***the moth*** the shape of the lamp, ***the elephant*** the feeling of the female elephant, the honey ***bee*** the smell of the honey, the ***wild deer*** the singing voice of the evil poacher. Look at how they all die because of their ***desir***e. ***Whatever*** afflictive emotions and divisive concepts ***emanate from the mind are the lord***, luminescence itself shining as conceptuality, shining like ***waves*** on ***water***. Therefore, ***existence***—the phenomena of samsara, and ***sameness***—unborn liberation from suffering, ***are of the nature of the sky***. Nāgārjuna explains:

What is known as samsara
Should be called nirvana.

A teaching on the benefits of knowing this:

If you guard well what is taught,
What must be heard,
The poison spike dissolves like dust,
Fading away into your heart.
Just as water poured into water
Comes to taste the same as water,
So is the mind for which faults and good qualities are the same.
For those fools who cannot see the lord,
There is no antidote at all.
Like the tongue of the fire spreading through the forest,
Make all such appearances coming before you,
The root of the mind, co-emergent in emptiness.
If someting is pleasing to the mind,
It dives into the heart and becomes so dear,
Even the torment from a little sesame husk
Will not cause so much suffering.
Look, friends, at the pig and the ox.
They are similar, but not the same.
Just like the gift of wishing jewel,
So wondrous are the wise in whom error has perished. (351–370)

Spiritual instruction is ***what has been taught*** by the master. If the disciple ultimately ***guards well what must be heard***, the ***poison spike***, or [the poison] buried [in his heart], that is, the root mind, ***dissolves into dust***, into luminescence, [for]

it is pure from the root. Where is it purified? Though Mokṣākaragupta explains[60] heart [as] the indestructible vital point, this is the luminescence of the mind, and therefore it fades away there. For example, when water is poured into water, the water is all the same. Just so, the root mind and luminescence become one. Tilopa explains:

> The aggregates, senses, and sense realms
> All arise out of and fade into
> The nature of co-emergent mind.

For fools who are without spiritual instruction from the lord of the mind, which is endowed with both faults and enlightened qualities, who do not know that these two are of the same taste, ***there is no antidote at all.*** Therefore, ***like the tongue of fire in the forest*** that sets the whole forest aflame, you must turn the root of all appearances into emptiness. Likewise, since even the tiniest bit of desire or hatred toward pleasing and displeasing things causes torment, you must turn them into emptiness.

Emptiness [as is here described] is not the same as the abandonment of afflictive emotions [advocated] by everyone [else]; even though ***the pig and the ox*** are similar in shape, a pig is not an ox. Just so, the emptiness designated by other systems is emptiness, though ***it is not*** [our] path. An awareness of this emptiness, in which the totality of faults dissolve into the empty mind itself, destroys all error. For example, if a ***wish-fulfilling jewel*** touches the body, all mental illness and faults become nonexistent. Just so, ***the wise in whom all errors have been destroyed*** by realizing the emptiness of the mind, who have entered on other paths, ***are wondrous.***

Teaching that this emptiness dwells in a place of bliss:

> **Habitual forms in which great bliss is self-aware in itself,**
> **All at this time become the same as the sky.**
> **You can't speak of *kālakūṭa* poison—**
> **Grasping the skylike nature with egoic awareness.**
> **When egoic awareness becomes nonegoic,**
> **Nature, co-emergence, shines supreme. (371–376)**

At this time all phenomena that exist as ***habitual forms in which great bliss is self-aware in themselves become the same as the sky. Kālakūṭa***, or black fear, is the name of a poison which comes from the far ocean. Just as whoever takes it dies, in whomever ***co-emergence*** dawns, all of their afflictive emotions and divisive concepts are slain. Therefore co-emergence is spoken of with a word that illustrates uniqueness. [The fact that] "***you cannot even say***" this word [*kālakūta*] is known by ***egoic awareness*** which has realized that its ***nature***—which cannot be understood by this [word]—***is the same as the sky.*** Through this the faulty ***egoic awareness*** becomes nonexistent, and therefore it ***shines*** and is empowered.

In house upon house it is spoken of,
Yet the place of great bliss is not at all known.
All people are burdened with a troubled mind, says Saraha.
Does anyone at all realize the unthinkable?
{Abandoning the poles of bliss and the arcane,
I see meditation and nonmeditation without separation.}
Showing the way through objects, others create concepts;
By thinking on this, the nature of nonrealization comes to cease.
When mind comes to point out mind,
Conceptual thought dwells unmoving and firm. (377–386)

In house upon house, both internally and externally, those who explain the mind ***speak***, and yet without being aware of it, all ***people*** speak falsely of the mind dualistically appearing. The ***unthinkable*** is not ***realized by anyone*** without spiritual instructions. ***Kyema*** expresses amazement.[61] You must question [yourself] in the yogic meditation of co-emergence. "***I*** [Saraha] ***see*** the ***abandonment*** of all form such as **genitals**. It is said:

Formlessness, and noble good forms,
All forms arise from egoic awareness.

With this subsequently attained mentality, objects appear as if in a dream. The yogin who is so aware blocks all wind which is the cause of other types of thought cycling, for when mind realizes mind, wind and mind become unwavering and stable. The *Vajra Garland Tantra* states:

The three realms are manifested by wind.
See them as a dreamer in a dream.[62]

Just as salt dissolves in water,
So mind dissolves into nature.
Then self and other are seen to be the same;
What use are effort and meditative concentration?
In co-emergence all teachings are seen,
Your many desires luminously appear,
The lord, the Self alone refutes the others.
In house upon house he establishes philosophy. (387–394)

By so meditating, all the ***mind dissolves into*** [its] ***nature***, luminescence. ***Then self and other are seen to be the same***, and therefore what is to be done with a meditative concentration which employs conceptual effort? On the other hand, you may wonder why the Buddha taught this [meditative concentration]. While this view is the singular reality, many different scriptures that teach this are seen. Based upon one's ***desires*** and one's faith, the mind is directed toward the enlightened attributes [of] channels, winds, and vital points, or divine body, speech, and mind. In this [co-emergence] these are clear, and each ***appear***.

The ***lord***, [i.e.,] co-emergence and Saraha, [also termed] the ***Self alone, refutes*** all ***other*** conceptualized meditative concentrations. On the other hand, you may

wonder if they are all wrong. Well, ***in house upon house***, each with its own meditation, the ***philosophies are established*** which have minor attainments such as quiescence, as well the middling and the eight great attainments, and thus teaching them is not meaningless.

Illustrating that by one's realizing co-emergence all teachings are realized:

> **By consuming the one, everything is burned.**
> **You go outside to search for the master of the house,**
> **Though you walk around you do not see him, no matter where you go;**
> **Even if he is right there you do not recognize him.**
> **With no waves, this supreme mighty one,**
> **Becomes meditative concentration with no mire.**
> **Leave the water alone to be clear and the lamp alone to shine;**
> **Coming, going, I accept or reject nothing. (395–402)**

By consuming only consciousness with luminescence, ***all the other*** aggregates ***are burned*** with [its] fire, as, for example, when a single tree in the forest burns with fire, it spreads and everything is burned.

Without knowing that co-emergence exists in yourself, you go outside and look for the householder—co-emergence. You come in and you don't see him; wherever you go, he is not there. Even if he were right in front of you, externally, you wouldn't recognize him.

What is this acquired by? It is attained by a ***supreme*** nonconceptual ***power*** which is ***without waves*** of conceptuality, ***a meditative concentration*** which is nonconceptual, which is ***without the mire*** of afflictive emotions. We can give an example of this meditative concentration: Just as you don't bother ***the clear water*** and the ***lamp*** burning on its ***own***, ***leave*** the mind without concepts ***alone***. [Saraha] himself leaves the methods of practice which are ***coming and going*** unrefuted. The *Hevajra Tantra* states:

> Do not reject egoic awareness,
> Do not reject the senses.[63]

Showing all objects of desire and longing to be empty appearances through the example of a dream:

> **One time you meet a beautiful woman such as there never was,**
> **But the mind during sleep is based on nothing at all!**
> **Do not see her to be any different than the mind's own form;**
> **Then you hold the Buddha in your palm.**
> **When body, speech, and egoic awareness are inseparable,**
> **The nature of co-emergence is beautiful. (403–408)**

"***Such as . . .***" [means no] other [woman]. If you see that the woman in the dream and the erroneous ***sleeping mind*** are ***based on nothing*** whatsoever, that such appearances are merely apparitions identical with ***one's own mind, buddhahood*** is attained. So meditating, ***one's own body, speech, and egoic awareness*** shine ***indivisibly*** with co-emergence, and the realization at ***this time*** is ***beautiful*** and good.

When the lord of the manor consumes, the lady enjoys the riches.
Whatever she sees is hers to enjoy.
I have played the game,
And the children are tired—
{The fire burns its own fuel} {line 424}[64](409–412)

Partaking in this: Just as ***householders*** shamelessly partake of food, so should you nonconceptually partake of the five sense-objects. Showing that even though these words have been explained, the luckless will not understand: [The verse says;] "I, Saraha, ***have played the game***, have uttered many crazy words, and ***the children are tired***." With no conceptuality, just as ***the fire burns its own fuel***, [conceptuality] is exhausted into realization on its own. Another [way of putting this is]: Co-emergence is ***the game I have played***, and the apparitions of conceptuality are burned by the fire of primordial awareness.

{Kyema!}[65] There is no other way it arises,
So this yogic practice is without compare.
Consume the master and nature shines.
This very mind which is filled with objects of desire,
Place it in the innate and abandon both desire and nondesire.
The mind is losing out, so I look to the Yoginī.
Do not think when you eat and drink;
Friends, what appears to the mind
Is seized with suffering for those
Who think it to be external. (413–421)

Kyema! [means] the mind is reeling. There are no other means to liberation, just as there is no other way than this to create a body of faith. A ***yogic practice*** such as this ***is without compare*** in samsara. ***Eat the master*** of all samsara and nirvana—co-emergence—***and nature shines***, for it is without any blemishes whatsoever. With this [beautiful nature] make this very samsaric ***mind***, which is ***filled with objects of desire*** and longing, free of desire. Then settle it in the innate, which is the foundation of all samsara and nirvana. ***Since the mind*** with its subject and objects ***is losing out, I look to the yoginī***, for she is the mother who gives birth to all the Buddhas. Because [I look to her, I] partake of the ***food*** of samsara ***without thinking***. "***Friends***" is a vocative. Those who think that ***what appears to the mind*** exists ***externally*** are ***seized with suffering***.

The yoga of illusion is without compare:
{Think upon this work alone.

The intellect which is indivisible in whatever endeavor}[66]
Is stainless throughout the three realms.
Powerless the moonstone drips water;
All the kingdom is overpowered by rule.
The mind itself is the yoginı; who settles suchness.
Know her as the bond of co-emergence. (422–428)

The yoga in which one realizes that the external [world] is like an ***illusion is without compare*** in samsara. Therefore, you ***should think of only this. The intellect***, which apprehends [objects] in whatever endeavors of the three doors [of perception] ***indivisibly*** [like] illusions in a dream, ***becomes stainless throughout the three realms*** of body, speech, and mind. For example, just like the ***water powerlessly dripping from*** water-crystal ***jewel*** when it comes into contact with the light of the ***moon***, so the enlightened qualities such as the clairvoyances—enlightened qualities which have been liberated by the multifarious ***rule*** of co-emergence—***overpower all the kingdom. The yoginī who settles this mind as such***, [i.e.,] co-emergence, nonconceptual primordial awareness, is able to bind all the evil practices of the three doors and thus is called ***the bond of co-emergence***.

An explanation of co-emergence [in terms of] letters:

Among all beings of letters,
Not even one is without letters.
Just when you are without letters,
Then you know the letters well.
You delight in ink, yet not in reading.
{What has no letter is the letter.}
Vedics lose out by chanting meaningless things. (429–434)

Among all beings, all sentient beings who use conventional terms by connecting ***letters, not one is without*** the conventional terms of ***letters***. When ***you come to be without*** the conceptuality that seizes upon the labels consisting of conventional terms created by ***letters***—when this has ceased, ***you will know well the letters*** of the ultimate concern. ***By your wiping out letters, the ink vanishes***. Here the translation, "What has no letter is the letter," is quite good. The meaning of this is: [Here] letter [*yi ge*], is *akṣara* in Sanskrit and "unchanging" in Tibetan. This is explained by: "[It is] without manifold designations."

Since the primordial awareness of co-emergence is unchanging from the human [state] up to buddhahood, it is called "that which is supremely unchanging." Regarding this, [the following] exegesis can be made: While not even a single sentient being exists in whom the letters of both the ultimate concern and conventional designations [simultaneously exist], when the conventional designations by which labels are apprehended have faded away, the letter of co-emergence—the ultimate concern—comes to radiate, just as when the letters are destroyed the ink vanishes and the paper is shiny. Also, that which is

without the letter of conventional designations by which labels are apprehended is the letter of ultimate concern.

Non-Buddhists, without understanding letters in this way, ***recite the meaningless Vedas*** and ***lose out*** on liberation. They wander in samsara, not knowing that the letter of ultimate concern and O—the acoustic [aspect] of Brahmā, which they recite as three and a half letters—are two [different things.]

Think good people: If you do not know your counterpart,
From where do you rise, to where do you pass on?
As the outer, so the inner;
Living continuously on the fourteenth level. (435–438)

Think sorry people—If they ***do not know*** their ***counterpart***, co-emergence, those in samsara do not know ***from where they arise, or where they set***, nor do they [know that] ***as the outer is so is the inner***. But if they know this, they ***live continuously on the fourteenth level***. As for this, his fourteenth level: from the path of accumulation up to the eleventh [level], total luminescence, [there are] thirteen [levels]. Since within secret mantra buddhas reside even beyond these, it is called the fourteenth. This is prevalent in such works as the *Oral Instruction of Mañjuśrī*.

Without a body, it hides in your body;
Be aware of it, and by this become free. (439–440)

While co-emergence has no body that possesses form, it does exist as something hiding as a treasure in your body. The *Hevajra Tantra* states:

In the body great primordial awareness dwells,
Totally free of all conceptuality,
Pervading all things,
Dwelling in the body, yet not born from the body.[67]

If you know this directly, you will become liberated.

I recited the original founding letter,
Then I drank the elixir, and came to forget;
Who knows the singular letter
Does not know its name.
{In three thick forests there is one letter—
{A god in the center of three letters.}[68]
He who is lost in these three
Is a pauper seeming to be a brahmin. (441–448)

"***I***, Saraha, ***recited the letter*** which ***founds*** the ultimate concern, the ***original*** co-emergence primordially hidden. I ***drank its elixir***, its essence, and thereupon my afflictive emotions and divisive concepts were f***orgotten*** and vanished, just as one's unhappy mental state vanishes from drinking beer. The person ***who knows the singular letter*** of ultimate concern ***does not know*** all the labels by which ***its name*** is apprehended, and [thus these labels and the name] pass away. ***The***

three wildernesses are body, speech, and mind. ***The singular letter*** is co-emergence. ***In the center of these three letters***, [which can also be seen as] ground, path, and result, is ***a god*** of luminescence. ***Whoever falls from these three*** and stays is like a ***pauper*** [reciting the] ***four Vedas*** who desires to step off the path of his lowly caste. [Such a person] steps off the path of the four blisses and co-emergence.

A clear explanation of the [above]:

> **For those unaware of the nature of everything,**
> **Great bliss is attained in sexual union;**
> **As if thirst-ridden, chasing after water in mirage,**
> **They die from thirst, and do they ever drink the sky-water?**
> **Whoever frolics in this bliss,**
> **Living between vajra and lotus,**
> **What for? This has no capacity for truth,**
> **So {where} in the three worlds will you be complete?**
> **The bliss of means is the moment,**
> **And this itself becomes both;**
> **Through the kindness of the master,**
> **A handful in a hundred will understand. (449–460)**

People who do not know [that] ***the nature of everything*** [is] co-emergence claim that unadulterated ***great bliss is attained*** while engaging in ***sexual union*** with a *karmamudrā*. They are mistaken, like the thirsty wild deer who sees a mirage as water, goes running after it, and gets injured. ***They die from thirst; can they get water from the sky?*** Similarly, [such people] mistake the bliss of the four joys to be primordial awareness and do not realize co-emergence. For this reason, since that ***bliss*** which is born from sexual union ***has no capacity*** to give rise to and sustain co-emergence, ***where*** can it ***complete*** the realization [which is] free of the ***three worlds***, [i.e.,] the three doors [of perception]? Well, it cannot complete this.

Furthermore, the moment of ***bliss*** which is produced from ***means*** alone does turn into primordial awareness, and since ***that very*** primordial awareness arises whether or not there is wisdom, what need is there to look to a *karmamudrā*? Therefore, co-emergence ***will be understood by the kindness of the master by only a handful in a hundred*** times.

A clear explanation of this:

> **Friends. Deep and vast,**
> **Without alterior, yet not a self.**
> **During the fourth bliss of co-emergence,**
> **Be experientially aware of the innate. (461–464)**

Friends is vocative. Because [co-emergence] is difficult to realize, it is ***deep, and*** because it pervades all sentient beings, it is ***vast***. It does ***not*** arise from a ***self*** which does not possess spiritual instructions. ***The bliss of co-emergence*** is introduced as the mind [as] primordial awareness [and] the Great Seal by the master ***during the fourth*** empowerment. Through this [you should] ***be experimentally aware of the innate***, the basis of the mind.

The enlightened qualities of [co-emergence]:

Just as the moon jewel
Sets the great darkness alight,
In this single moment of supreme bliss,
All evils of thought are done away with.
When the sun of suffering sets,
The liberated lord dawns along with the planets.
So dwelling, he pours forth emanations,
The sacred wheel of a maṇḍala. (465–472)

Just as the moon rising in the darkness overcomes the dark, at the single moment when all the work of this [meditation] is complete, the totality of evils and obscurations are exhausted because of the empowered heart, senses, and mind. Tilopa explains in his *Dohā Spiritual Instruction*:

> All concerns are equalized, all evils and obscurations are burned.
> This is called the firelight of the teaching.[69]

The sun of suffering [and] evils and obscurations produced [by] that ***set***, and at the same time ***planets***—[i.e.,] primordial awareness—inside ***the lord*** who has been ***liberated*** from samsara dawn. Because [this lord] ***so dwells, he pours forth manifold emanations***, which appear in a ***maṇḍala*** of peaceful and wrathful [deities].

Kyeho! When mind understands mind,
It will be liberated on its own from all negative views,
And consumed in great bliss supreme,
Dwelling here, this is the sacred spiritual boon. (473–476)

Kyeho fools! is a vocative. ***When the mind understands mind*** as emptiness, your ***own*** mind ***is liberated*** from the sixty-two systems of ***negative views***. [The mind] is exhausted into merely ***supreme bliss*** alone. When you ***dwell here***, you ***attain the supreme spiritual boons*** of the common [variety].

The means to place the mind in co-emergence:

Let the elephant-mind wander free,
Let it answer to itself.

{Since you understand it, don't ask anything of it.}
Let it drink the water from the skyward mountain,
Let it be at lakeshore as is its wont.
Taking in hand the senses of the elephant-object,
It comes under your sway to kill.
The yogin is like the elephant herder;
It will stray away from him. (477–484)

Let the elephant-mind wander free, without hindering it whatsoever. ***Let it answer to itself,*** place it at ease. ***Since you understand it, do not ask*** [anything of it], and [it will be] put in a nonconceptual [state]. Be aware of it as ***it drinks the water***—the naturally luminescent mind which purifies all stains—which falls from ***the skyward river***, [i.e.,] reality. Yet ***let it be at the lakeshore***, wandering on its way ***as is its wont.***

For example, When the king binds ***the senses of the object-elephant*** by wielding the iron hook, he [can] ***kill it.*** Just so, ***the yogin, like an elephant herder***, brings the elephant of the mind under his power; his mind with its ramblings is killed as it ***goes astray.***

Showing how samsara and nirvana are indivisible:

Certain that whatever is samsara is nirvana,
I do not think of another {objective} division;
Through this singular nature division is abandoned.
I realize what is stainless.
The suchness of egoic awareness is the reference,
The nonreference is emptiness;
The fault is in the duality.
The yogin does not meditate with either one.
<Between referential or nonreferential meditation,
Between meditation and nonmeditation, there is no difference;>
{The referential object of meditation is nonreferential.}
They have the nature of aspects of bliss.
This rises in and of itself, unsurpassed,
Known through the means of the timely master. (485–497)

That these two are one has been made ***certain*** by the previous example of the water and the waves. You must realize that the various ***objective divisions*** are of ***one nature with the mind***, and that [this nature] is the ***stainless*** [aspect] of dualistic apprehension.

This is correct, for ***the suchness of egoic awareness is the reference, and the emptiness is the nonreference.*** Since all dualistic appearances are ***faulty, the yogin does not meditate upon them***, although he meditates upon all ***referential objects of meditation as nonreferential.*** Through this, nonduality with ***the unsurpassed nature of bliss arises in and of itself.*** [The yogin] realizes this, though he first

comes to ***know*** this ***by relying upon the means*** which are taught in a ***timely*** manner ***by the master.***

Teaching how the place of nondualist meditation does not matter:

Without going to woods, without staying at home,
Wherever you have known with egoic awareness,
All perpetually dwells as enlightenment.
Whatever is samsara, whatever is nirvana,
Is co-emergence when egoic awareness is purified.
Then you are not entering {the enemy's realm}.
Enlightenment does not dwell in the woods or in the home.
Completely aware that this is how it is,
Through the stainless nature of the mind,
Base everything upon nonconceptuality.
This is self, just as this is also other.
What is meditated upon, who meditates—
Free these from the bonds of divisiveness, and
The Self will be liberated.
{Just like what is seen in the ocean:}
<Just as when the ocean becomes placid,
Sea foam dissolves into the water that it is. (504–505)>
Do not commit the error of self and other. (498–514)

If you can know this ***without going*** to the ***forest***, but ***staying*** here ***at home***, you should stay there. ***Egoic awareness***, which is without concepts that dualistically seize upon ***samsara*** and ***nirvana***, lives in ***co-emergence***. Then you do not encounter the ***enemy*** of nonconceptuality, conceptuality. Dwelling in nonconceptuality, you are victorious over conceptuality, and this realization is undivided, undifferentiated whether you dwell in the forest or at home. ***By so knowing this, base everything upon nonconceptuality***. By this know that ***self, other***, everything is this co-emergence. ***Be free of what is meditated upon and who meditates, and the Self will*** become ***liberated.***

You might ask, "How is it that there are the various individual appearances?" For example, [they are] "***just like what is seen in the ocean***:" In the ***placid ocean*** the various forms do not exist. Just so, do not commit the error of [making] appearances into self and other. Thus the words have been connected.

[Result Co-emergence]

Everyone is a continuously dwelling Buddha:
When mind is purified to its very essence,
This is the stainless supreme state.
The sacred trunk of nondual mind
Grows to fill the three realms entirely.

Flowers of compassion yield the fruit of beneficence;
Its name is "Supreme beneficence."
On the sacred trunk of emptiness {branches grow}.
Endowed with many sorts of sacred compassion,
Spontaneously it bears the final fruit of results.
This bliss is not just another mental state. (515–525)

Having thus presented the four path co-emergences, a presentation of result co-emergence: Even though all sentient beings are aboriginally ***buddhas*** merely born into samsara, they do not recognize this, and therefore when they meditate on the path, they appear as buddhas who are previously nonexistent.

The supreme state without the stains of the two obscurations is ***the trunk of nondual mind,*** [i.e.,] the ***mind is purified to its very essence.*** Of this the *Summary of the [Perfection of Wisdom in] Eight Thousand [Lines]* explains:

Perfection of Wisdom is nondual.
This primordial awareness is the One thus Gone.

This [tree] ***fills*** the three levels, ***the three realms entirely*** with the ripe harvest of enlightened activities. It has ***flowers of compassion*** and ***yields*** the ripe ***fruit*** of manifold ***beneficence***. Because this enlightened body of reality is like the sky, it is ***empty***. And yet from that the ***trunk***—the enlightened body of enjoyment—and ***the growing branches***—the enlightened body which emanates anywhere—effortlessly and ***spontaneously*** arise out of ***compassion*** [as] various enlightened activities. This ***final*** co-emergence, the great bliss of this ***result*** co-emergence, ***is not just another*** deluded ***mental state***.

The trunk of emptiness which is not sacred compassion
Will have no roots, no flowers, never a harvest.
Whoever turns this into an objective referent
Will fall from this and break his limbs.
In one seed are two trunks,
And so the fruit is the same.
Whoever minds that they are inseparable
Is free from samsara and nirvana. (526–533)

The trunk of emptiness which is not, or which has no ***compassion***, will ***have no roots*** with which to benefit anyone, ***nor any harvest*** of compassion. ***One who makes this an objective referent*** will never be of benefit to others. He will ***fall from*** [this tree], descend into the [paths of the] Hearer or the Solitary Realizer, with the ***limbs*** of [his] spiritual means ***broken***. ***From one*** unadulterated ***seed the two trunks*** of emptiness and compassion ***arise***, and from the purification of these two ***one fruit***—the enlightened body of reality—***arises***. ***Whoever minds*** that emptiness and compassion are forever ***inseparable*** and connected is ***free*** from both ***samsara and nirvana***. The *Supreme Continuum* explains:

Self-conceit is severed by discriminating awareness,
Sentient beings have this conceit, and thus cannot be loving or attain peace.

With loving minds and relying on enlightened means,
Nobles move neither in samsara nor in nirvana.[70]

A person who has become realized in such a way:

When a needy person comes around,
If that person goes away without what he hoped for,
Fetching the bowl which is cast out the door—
If that one throws out the master of the house, this is good.
Not working to benefit others,
Not giving gifts to the needy;
These are the fruits of samsara, alas.
If one throws out the essentialized self, this is good. (534–541)

Showing that one ***needs*** to work with compassion while on the path for the benefit of others: When some ***person comes*** who desires and is working for this teaching, and he ***goes away*** without having been given the teaching, he gains no hope of buddhahood. For example, a beggar who is seeking alms with a piece of a bowl takes a vessel and food and drink which are left at a ***door***. If one were ***not to give*** [even] to those who desire not ***to benefit others***, this would be a meaningless offering. Not to explain the teachings to others when you know them [yourself] is a ***result*** of being born in ***samsara***. "***Alas***" is a word of displeasure.

Therefore, ***if one throws out self***-benefit and works for the benefit of others, ***this is good*** and right, as is said by the teacher Kamalaśīla in the *Smaller Stages of Meditation*:

If nonconceptual primordial awareness is not attained,
Buddhahood will not be attained with words.
Still, since people will read it,
It is fitting that scholars explain.[71]

The teacher Mokṣākaragupta explains:[72] If such a person who desires something seeks alms, he is sometimes given what he does not hope for. "Bowl fragment" and so forth show that without self-benefit, benefit to others cannot be accomplished. Nevertheless, if one gives up essential selfhood, this is good for working for the benefit of others. Because [people] meaninglessly go through rebirths in samsara, one should give self-benefit and work for the benefit of others. Even though there may be no benefit to others, if one does not crave, then one is not sullied by the faults of any results of samsara.

In some commentaries it is so explained: When one is, like a beggar, without attachment for the pleasures of samsara because one has realized the various topics that have been previously explained, if one gives up self-benefit, this is good. One should leave home and, without regard for life and limb, live with no attachment to enemies or friends. The meaning of this is spoken of in Saraha's *Dohā Compendium*:

If the deluded know the measure of the sky,
The mass of delusion is cut away.
By one's looking at the pure sky,
The vision ceases.[73]

And:

Because they are fleeting, Śabari,
You must pick the fruits of the sky.[74]

And:

Just this measure of teaching will suffice;
What is accomplished by speaking so much?[75]

[Conclusion]

I have not explained [Saraha's *Treasury of Dohā Verses*] from the perspective of the channels, winds, and energies, which are internal to secret mantra. In Virūpa's *Eighty-Four Verses* it is said: "All that which is connected with mental proliferation is rejected." And in Kṛṣṇa's *Treasury of Dohā Verses* it is said:

What is accomplished by playing around each day
With recitation, offerings and maṇḍalas?
By one who eternally realizes co-emergent bliss,
What is there to do with these old vedas?
This one overcomes all conceptuality,
And the arrogance of all beings.[76]

[Saraha is] ***great lord of yogins***, because he dwells in nondual primordial awareness. ***Sa ra*** is a word for both "arrow" and "ocean", here it is "arrow." ***Ha pa*** is "to have shot." [Here only] the first letter of the word is written. The yogin's song, which points to and teaches the suchness of the mind without reifying or underestimating its manner of being, is a text that teaches nonduality, the ultimate concern. Vajrapāṇi was known as Chakna Dorje or Gyagar Chak. His translators were Naktsho, Ma Chobar, and Balpo Asu. [The *Treasury of Dohā Verses*] was also translated by Tengpa Lotsawa of Nyal and others. There are many other ignorant people by whom wrong stories of Saraha have been composed, and since [those stories] are but strings of mistakes made by the inexperienced, pay no heed to them.

These dohā verses which teach all-pervading co-emergence,
The certain purport of the profound sūtras and tantras of the Sage,
Were composed by the Great Brahmin for Padma.
The [*Dohā*] *chings* was made for Śabari.

If it is difficult for scholars completely trained externally and internally

To understand this text, how can the untrained,
The king, the queen, the commoner,
The fool, understand it?

Were [scholars] to compose a work difficult to understand on [such people's] behalf,
It would vitiate their own scholarship and the reason for the work.
[Works] composed by such [scholars]
Are false words which delude many people.

Through whatever merit is born of this well-made explanation of
The work of the Great Brahmin,
[a work] that teaches the purport of natural existence,
May all beings realize co-emergence, and
Quickly obtain Buddhahood, replete with the three enlightened bodies.

[Colophon]

Ornamental Flower for the Dohās, composed by the learned Buddhist monk Comden [Rikpay] Raldri after Pon Geshe Nyingpo of Tsang Yeru made numerous requests, is complete. For all beings who enter, may this illuminate the darkness of unknowing, the ignorance of co-emergence. Edited once.

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Epilogue

In Praise of the Great Brahmin

Encomium to Saraha by Śākya Chokden

From the prince Rāhula,
First-born son of the King of the Śākyas,
You took ordination, Brahmin Rāhula.
Away from the Vedas, you dwelt in knowledge.
The teachings of the Sage
You were able grasp completely,
Monk, Elder, upholder of moral action.

Rising to greatness, for ages
You held the Buddha's teachings.
You are the supreme second Teacher.
You were Nāgārjuna's master.
Among the Śākya King's teachings,
You practiced mantra; renowned to all,
As the first of all who have
Reached the ground of perfection.

Then, writing sūtras and tantras,
Your tradition was widespread,
Again, of all the treatise writers,
It was you who were the first.

Then, in the realm of immortal nectar,
You dwelt on the Great Seal ground.
Seeing neither birth nor death,
You fabricated neither coming nor dwelling.

Awareness holder, in the ether you lived,
Anywhere at all, there you were.
For you traveled anywhere there might be,
With emanations beyond belief.

In the Teaching, the certain truth,
You heard, pondered, and clarified.
Nāgārjuna and Asaṇga's chariots,
Proceed so, according to you.

Meditating, spiritual experience
You perfected. The Heart Cycle
In two aspects was famed to all.
You are the mind as such, supreme wishing jewel.

From the three doors of liberation,
You gradually emerged with wisdom.
Not a single treatise maker,
Could open the door.
With yogic symbols—
The many keys to instructions—
You opened it clearly.
True Teacher, to you I bow.

Aggregates, senses, and sense realms;
Such are known to Abhidharma.
Without reifying, in a moment you discerned
That they have no other objects:
Seven kinds of consciousness with their fields
Do not slip out to any object at all;
They rest inside, and at that time,
You saw them as the mind as such, the wishing jewel.

You saw all this, yet like something
Fetched from a garbage pile,
Not detaching yourself, you cherished them,
And in that moment they were the realm of reality.
Among the endless things to know,
You clarified instructions for
Seeing them as a whole. Glorious Saraha,
I hold you in my eyes and in my mind.

Acting out straightening arrow and reed,
You saw that there's nothing
Other than your own primordial awareness.
Then in this way all things
Became a single taste in great bliss.
You taught the lessons
For quickly, instantly,
Getting into the tantras.

Fearless Saraha, you swiftly
Opened the three doors,
And saw that all things are empty of essence,
Without cause,
Without result, but rather
Your own face—primordial awareness.
Never again did you enter a state where
You were deceived by things of the world,
For you were liberated, the three doors open,
Returned to how it was in the beginning.

Just so, through long times of great hardship,
You understood the practice of perfection.
Meeting the face with insightful
Primordial awareness, instantly gained
From equanimity free of thoughts,
You were liberated from delusion.

Great ocean—appearances, impure and external.
Seven golden mountains—the senses that see them.
The ocean, where primordial awareness frolics without grasping,
A single taste you showed to be, Glorious Saraha.

With a single arrow, ablaze with emptiness and primordial awareness,
You put hordes of demons—collected thoughts—
To sleep in a place where all is dark.
Fulfillment of primordial awareness, such virtue there is in you!

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Appendix 1: Compositional Features in the Anthologies of Phadampa Sangye

This chart details seven different features relating to the type and manner of composition and compilation to be met with in each of the works, based on information stated in the works themselves. These include: (1) type of verse, that is, symbolic (*brda'*), expression of realization (*rtogs brjod*), diamond-song (*rdo rje'i 'ghur*), or simply song (*'ghur*), or whether the work is prose or verse; (2) type of singer, performer, teacher, etc.; (3) the place of performance; (4) the audience of the songs, or the recipient of the teaching conveyed by the song; (5) the compiler of the anthology; (6) the internal divisions of the work, the smallest being simply one verse or prose passage prefaced by one name, the longest being the chapter (*le'u*) containing many such names and verses; (7) the material features of the work, and any mention of larger groups of texts and/or teachings out of which the anthologies are said to originate.

Short Title	Verse/ Prose	Singer	Place/Setting	Audience/Re-cipient	Compiler	Internal divi-sions	Compilation/ Media
(1) *Phyag rgya chen po brda'*	symbolic	deities	various Indian holy sites	Dam pa	Dam pa	verse + deity	written on white paper
(2.1) *Lam dri ma myed pa dngul sgong*	prose	adepts	—	Kun dga'	Dam pa	aphorism + adept	*Dri myed shel sgong gi bshad 'bum* on cover (written)
(2.2) *Lam dri ma myed pa gser sgong*	prose	yogic practi-tioners	—	—	Dam pa	aphorism + yogi	oral/written
(2.3) *Lam dri ma myed pa shel sgong*	prose	yogic practi-tioners	—	Kun dga'	Dam pa	aphorism + yogi	oral
(3) *Ngo mtshar*	prose	kings, queens, seers, brahmins, great ones, ministers	cremation ground	—	ḍākinīs	six repeating sets of people, no division between sets	red notice (*dmar byang*) in the *Arcane Treasury Dpal gyi be'u*. written on paper
(4) *Phyag rgya chen po rin*	symbolic	ḍākinīs	various: caves, holy sites, cremation grounds, bamboo groves	Dam pa	—	six titled sections (*dum bu*), 7–11 verses + names + settings each section	—
(5) *Phyag rgya chen po brda'*	symbolic	adepts	—	ḍākinīs	—	verse + adept	—
(6) *Mkha'*	symbolic	ḍākinīs	meeting of reality's noble-women	Kamala-śila, *aka* Dam pa	—	seven pieces (*brul tsho*)	*Arcane Treasury*

(7) *Dpal*	symbolic	ḍākinīs	cremation ground	ḍākinīs	—	verse + ḍākinīs	*Arcane Treasury*
(8) *Rdo rje mkha'*	symbolic	ḍākinīs	meeting of reality's noblewomen	Dam pa	Dam pa	five unspecified sections	scroll, *Arcane Treasury*
(9) *Thugs*	expression of realization	adepts and masters	—	Dam pa	ḍākinīs	verse + adept	written, *Arcane Treasury*
(10) *Grub thob lnga*	expression of realization	adepts	—	Dam pa	—	verse + adept	*Arcane Treasury*
(11) *Rdo rje'i mgur*	diamond-song	adepts and masters	gaṇacakra	—	—	verse + adept	—
(12) *Ye shes*	expression of realization	ḍākinīs	cremation ground/ meeting of reality's noblewomen	ḍākinīs, Dam pa	—	verse + ḍākinīs	*Arcane Treasury*
(13) *Gnad*	symbolic	adept: Saraha	—	—	—	seven unspecified sections	—
(14) *Rnal 'byor pa thams cad*	diamond-song	adepts, yogic practitioners	eight great cremation grounds	Kamalaśila, *aka* Dam pa	ḍākinīs	nine titled chapters (*le'u*), 41–44 verses + adepts each chapter	written on white paper
(15) *Rnal 'byor pa pho mo*	song	yogic practitioners	Tibet; 'Phra tig 'gra gcod	Dam pa, yogic practitioners	—	verse + yogi	—

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Appendix 2: Adepts in the Anthologies of Phadampa Sangye

This chart is a comparative table of the fifty-four (or fifty-five) names that occur in four anthologies attributed to Phadampa Sangye: *Silver Orb* (Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Lam dri ma myed pa dngul sgong*); *Golden Orb* (*Lam dri ma myed pa gser sgong*); *Crystal Orb* (*Lam dri ma myed pa shel sgong*), and *Symbolic Instructions* (*Phyag rgya chen po brda'*). Plain-type names are common to all the works, italicized names are those that occur in only one anthology, underlined names are shared only by the *Silver Orb* and the *Symbolic Instructions*, and boldface names are shared only by the *Golden Orb*, the *Crystal Orb*, and the *Symbolic Instructions*. The *Silver Orb* contains fourteen unique names, the *Symbolic Instructions* contains seven unique names, and thus thirty-three names are commonly shared among the four groups of fifty-four.

	Silver Orb	Golden Orb	Crystal Orb	Symbolic Instructions
1	klu sgrub snying po	shes rab bzang po	shes rab bzang mo	ku ku ri pa
2	shes rab bzang po	tsa rya pa	rtsa rgya pa	dgyegs pa'i rdo rje
3	*dhar ma ghir ti*	**na ro pa**	**na ro pa**	brtul zhugs
4	*yon tan 'od*	bhu su ku	bhu su ku	a ba 'du ti pa
5	*rad na a shan ti*	klu sgrub snying po	klu sgrub snying po	pad mo'i zhabs
6	*bram ze shang ka ra*	ldom bhi pa	ldom bhi pa	*blo gros myi bzad pa*
7	*ye shes snying po*	rtog rste pa	rtog rtse pa	rtsa rgya pa
8	*shan ta de ba*	in tra bo dhe	in tra bo dhe	*ldum bi he ru ka*
9	a rya de ba	**mar me mdzad**	**mar me mdzad**	tog tse pa
10	thogs myed	rtul zhugs pa	tul zhugs pa	shing lo ma
11	gser gling pa	a nan ta	a nan ta	klu bsgrub
12	bhu ka ku ta	kri sna pa	tri sna pa	a rgya de ba
13	*ngag gi dbang phyug*	pad ma 'byung gnas	pad ma 'byung gnas	kam pa la
14	ghu dha ri pa	pad ma badzra	pad ma badzra	in tra bo di
15	dzha pa ri pa	ku ku ri pa	ku ku ri pa	ri khrod ma
16	*ye shes zhabs*	bhi rgya pa	bhi rgya pa	**na ro pa**
17	*ka rmā badzra*	a va 'du ti	a ba 'du ti	pad ma 'byung gnas
18	*klu'i byang chub*	rdo rje 'dril bu	rdo rje dri bu	ko sha pa
19	a nan ta	klu'i pa	klu yi pa	rdo rje dril bu
20	ba su dha ri	sa ra ha	sa ra ha	dri myed ma
21	tri sna pa	**'du ti 'bring pa**	**a va 'du ti pa 'bring po**	klu yi pa
22	pad ma badzra	**yan lag myed pa'i rdo rje**	**yan lag myed pa'i rdo rje**	sa ra ha
23	*mtsho skyes rdo rje*	rtul zhugs pa chung ngun	dgegs pa rdo rje	**yan lag myed pa'i rdo rje**
24	in tra bo dhe	**'du ti chung ngun**	**rtul zhugs pa chung shos**	brtul zhugs pa
25	ldom bi pa	a rya de ba	**a ba 'du ti pa chung shos**	ghun dha ri
26	*nag po zhabs*	kam pa la	a rya de ba	<u>nyi ma sbas pa</u>
27	rdo rje dril bu	ko sha pa	kam pa la	a nan ta
28	lū'i pa	a nan ta (2)	ko sha pa	tri sna pa
29	bhu rgya pa	ba su da ri	a nan ta (2)	**mar me mdzad pa**
30	te lo pa	**bsod snyoms pa**	ba su dha ri	**gcer bu ma**
31	ku ku ri pa	thogs myed	**bsod snyoms pa**	pad ma badzra
32	dgegs pa rdo rje	gser gling pa	thogs myed	shes rab bzang po
33	*kun dga' snying po*	**ldom bhi pa chung ngu**	gser gling pa	thogs myed
34	sa ra ha	**na ro pa (2)**	ldom bhi pa chung ngu	gser gling pa
35	sa ka ra si ti	te lo pa	rtsa rgya pa (2)	dkar mo
36	rtog rtse pa	**rin chen bzang po**	te lo pa	a ba 'du ti pa
37	ko sha pa	**gha dha pa**	**na ro pa (2)**	**bsod snyoms pa**
38	kam pa la	dza ba ri pa	**rin chen bzang po**	*'bu bhi pa*
39	ghu da ri pa	**ra tri ta**	**gha da pa**	rtsa rgya pa (2)
40	tsa rya pa	**bhi ru pa**	dza ba ri pa	legs myin ka ra
41	sha ba ri pa	**dha pa la**	**ra tri ta**	te lo pa
42	a va 'du ti	a ka ra si ti	**dha pa la**	**na ro pa (2)**
43	<u>nyi ma sbas pa</u>	dgegs pa rdo rje	a ka ra si ti	ba su ra ra
44	*rin chen rdo rje*	rtsa rya pa (2)	**bhi ru pa**	'bhir rgya pa
45	a ra ra sid ti	pad mo zhabs	pad mo zhabs	*pad ma ni*

	Silver Orb	Golden Orb	Crystal Orb	Symbolic Instructions
46	ri khrod ma	shing lo ma	shing lo ma	a nan ta (2)
47	dri med ma	ri khro ma	ri khrod ma	*rin chen rdo rje*
48	pad mo zhabs	dri myed ma	dri myed ma	su ka ma ha si ti
49	shing lo ma	gha dha ri	ghun dha ri pa	gha ta pa
50	bde' ba 'byung gnas	**gcer bu ma**	**gcer bu ma**	*'dza ra pa*
51	ku mun dha ri	**mkha' 'gro ma dkar mo**	**mkha' 'gro ma dkar mo**	**ra tri ta**
52	gha gha bzang po	legs myin ka ra	legs myin ka ra	*dha ba la*
53	legs myin ka ra	ku mun ta	su ka ma ha si ti	a kar ba si ti
54	rtsi to ma	su ka ma ha si ti	*pad mo dri*	**bhi ru pa**
55	su ka ma hā si ti	—	—	—

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Appendix 3: Outline of Ling Repa's Commentary on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*

Numbers in bold highlight sections where Ling Repa has reorganized lines.

Section Title	*Treasury of Dohā Verses* Line Numbers
1. Giving Up Claims	
1.1 Giving up claims of an outsider non-Buddhist	4–36
1.2 Giving up claims about the philosophical way	37–44
1.3 Giving up claims about the resultant Mantra Way	45–49
1.4 Giving up claims about the quiescence of emptiness	50–55
1.5 Giving up claims about making offerings to gods	56
1.6 Giving up claims about reciting mantras, and the stories of Lord Atiśa and Phadampa Sangye	57
1.7 Giving up claims about ablutions and austerities	58–59
1.8 Giving up claims about the benefits of desiring objects	**227–234, 339–346**
1.9 Giving up claims about conventional language	**66–67**
1.10 Giving up all partisan claims	**60–63, 363–368**
2. Relying upon the Mentor	
2.1 Look to the mentor	72–73
2.2 The precious pronouncements of the mentor	**213–214**
2.3 The spiritual means are taught in accordance with the instructions of the mentor	**146–158, 261–272**
2.4 The benefits of what is taught by the mentor	**74–75, 253–260**
2.5 The evils of what is not pointed out by the mentor	**76–98**
3. Meditative Experience	
3.1 Syzygy	**64–65**
3.2 Casting off the experiences of the path of desire	**99–110**
3.3 Stationing oneself in the natural realm of the Great Seal	**131–134, 137–141, 159–161**
3.4 The faults of fabrication	**142–145, 215–226, 235–252**
3.5 The difference between bondage and liberation	**163–212**
3.6 The means of relying on the path of practice	**273–310**
3.7 Meditative experience and the arcane	**373–390**
4. Speaking of Realization	
4.1 Realizing that all phenomena are of a single flavor	**68–71**
4.2 All reifications of internal and external are severed by the blazing of realization	111–118
4.3. Co-emergent primordial awareness	119–130
4.4 Suchness is an inexhaustible treasure	**315–334**
4.5 Samsara and nirvana are neither rejected nor accepted because the meaning of reality has been realized	**347–358**
4.6 The needs and desires of oneself and others are met because the meaning of reality has been realized	**369–372**
4.7 That very meaning is the source of phenomena	391–414
4.8 Realizing that suchness is complete dependent arising	415–428
4.9 Moving with the primordial awareness which has realized the grounds and paths	429–440
4.10 The difference between being with outflow and without outflow	441–460
4.11 The darkness of unknowing is cleared away when the primordial awareness of realization dawns	461–472
4.12 The supreme spiritual attainment is obtained when realization dawns	473–476

Section Title		*Treasury of Dohā Verses* Line Numbers
5.	**Means of Fortifying**	
5.1	Fortifying the temporal realization is fortifying the realization of emptiness	**335–338, 359–362**
5.2	Fortifying the mind of realization is like protecting a wild elephant	477–484
5.3	Stationing oneself without suffering in a state in which Samsara and nirvana are inseparable	485–497
5.4	Fortifying oneself in no particular place	498–509
5.5	Fortifying oneself until stationed in equanimity with no traces	510–517
6.	**The Dawn of the Result**	
6.1	How the three enlightened bodies arise	518–525
6.2	The different causes for those	526–533
6.3	The enlightened acts of the result give rise to benefit for others	534–541

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Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Sna tshogs rang grol, *Rang*, v. 1, p. 4.1–.11. See Ricard (1994), p. 579, for bibliographic information on this collection of songs.

2. See Ricard (1994), p. 331, for a song by Zhabs dkar dedicated to Saraha.

3. Guenther (1993).

4. Guenther (1993).

5. Robinson (1995).

6. McGann (1992).

7. Karma 'phrin las pa's fascinating history has formed the basis of one earlier study by Herbert Guenther on the history of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, though inconsistencies in Guenther's treatment of the work have led me to present it anew. See Guenther (1993), chapter 1.

8. Schwabland (1994).

9. See Schaeffer and van der Kuijp (2005) for a full edition of his survey of Buddhist literature.

CHAPTER 1

1. Gtsug lag phreng ba, *Dam pa*, p. 741.10; and Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, p. 161.1. See Guenther (1993), p. 7, n. 13.

2. Padma dkar po, *Phyag*, p. 31, and *Chos*, p. 141.2.

3. Abhayadatta, *Grub*, p. 29.1

4. Grags pa rdo rje dpal bzang po, *Mkhan*.

5. This is certainly not to say that there is no historiographic tradition in medieval India: see Witzel (1990). See Schaeffer (2000a), for a discussion of an early Tibetan *rnam thar* of an Indian master, Vairocanavajra.

6. Granoff (1992).

7. Tucci (1971).

8. de Certeau (1990), p. 270.

9. Robinson (1995), p. 63.

10. Guenther (1993), p. 3.

11. Templeman (1989), p. 93.

12. I have not dealt with Saraha as a treasure finder in this essay, although he was certainly considered so by Tibetan writers. For instance, in Blo gros mtha' yas, *Gter ston*, Kong sprul claims that even the major Indian tantras were treasure texts because they were brought from the nāga realms by masters such as Saraha: see Tulku Thondup Rinpoche (1986), p. 60. 'Dud 'joms Rin po che 'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje (1904–1987) considers Saraha to be one of the previous emanations of Padmasambhava: See Dudjom Rinpoche (1991), p. 471. Bdud 'joms gling pa (b. 1835) also received treasure teachings from Saraha: see Gyatso (1985), p. 324, n. 16, and p. 338.

13. The *Tales of the Eighty-Four Adepts* has been translated twice into English, first by Robinson (1979) and then by Dowman (1985). Note that I have not dealt with Grags blo, *Grub*, a variant collection of the *Tales*.

14. See Schmid (1958), and Egyed (1984).

15. See Locke (1980), pp. 421–422.

16. See Snellgrove and Skorupski (1977), vol.1, pp. 51, 79, color plate XI.

17. See Sakya (1970), pp. 32–35.

18. See Fisher (1997), pp. 63–67.

19. See Karma Pakshi, *Karma*.

20. Korchag Tulku of Bodhnath, Kathmandu, has for the last decade been working on a large *thangka* of the Eighty-Four Adepts.

21. See Mathes (1999).

22. See Robinson (1979), pp. 41–43, and Dowman (1985), pp. 66–69, for alternative translations of this tale.

23. Skye med bde chen, *Doha* f. 34a.1.

24. Saraha, *Do ha mdzod ces bya ba'i spyod pa'i glu* (D2263), f. 26b.7.

25. Skye med bde chen, *Doha*, f. 36a.1.

26. Blo gros seng ge, *Tshigs su bcas pa brgya*, f. 2b.2. Blo gros seng ge's lines are summarized in the anonymous annotations to two manuscript editions of the *King Dohā*: *Do ha mdzod ce bya ba spyod pa'i glu*, NGMPP AT39/5, f. 17a.3; *Rgyal po 'dho ha*, NGMPP E1642/11; f. 2a.2. The elegent manuscripts preserving the works of Blo gros seng ge listed in the bibliography deserve further study.

27. Advaya Avadhūti, *Do*, f. 160a.7.

28. Little is known yet about the life of Karma 'phrin las pa. Two *rnam thar* of him are presently available: Mi bskyod bzang po, *Rje*, is more an extended prose encomium to the master than a biography. 'Be lo Tshe dbang kun khyab's continuation of Si tu Paṇ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas's life stories of Karma Bka' brgyud pa masters includes a three-folio outline of the career of Karma 'phrin las pa, though the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* is not among them. See Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sgrub*, v. 1, pp. 649–654.

29. Guenther (1993). Guenther's comments on the personage of Saraha and the history of his work in India and Tibet are woven around lengthy passages translated from Karma Trinlaypa's *Commentary on the Three Cycles of Dohā* and is largely taken from his earlier book of 1969. Karma Trinlaypa has left us with the most detailed extant Tibetan discussion of the history of Saraha's *Dohās*, and Guenther is surely right in placing it at the forefront of the discussion. From the first page of *Ecstatic Spontaneity* there is ambiguity regarding just what particular passages Guenther is translating, and from what version of Karma Trinlaypa's *Commentary* he is working. In Guenther (1969), p. 206, he cites Karma Trinlaypa's work as a "handwritten copy

of an old print," and at p. vi. refers to it as a "rare block print," the only copy of which, to my knowledge, is in Guenther's possession. In Guenther (1969), p. 3 n.1, the initial translated passage of Karma Trinlaypa's work is said to begin on folio 2a of the manuscript. In Guenther (1993), p. 3, n. 1, however, the same passage is not referenced to a Tibetan text, leaving the reader who is interested in comparison at a loss. To compound matters, in Guenther (1993) the only version of Karma Trinlaypa's work mentioned in the bibliography is the 1984 reproduction of a handwritten version of the text. A comparison of this 1984 version of the work and Guenther's translation reveals several large passages found in the translation that cannot be accounted for in the Tibetan. The new translation presented here of the Tibetan found in the 1984 version should illustrate this point.

30. Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sgrub*, v. 1, pp. 650. Unfortunately there is no mention of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* here.

31. This is indeed what the text has, but this may be corrected to Mahāpāla according to the next occurrence of the king in the narrative.

32. Sanskrit: *haṭṭa*.

33. Edgerton (1953), p. 582; Sanskrit: *śara*.

34. Sanskrit adjective *ha* from *han* 1p to hurl, or from *hā*, to discharge.

35. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, 4.2–8.

36. Guenther (1993), p. 4.

37. Guenther (1993), p. 7.

38. Rang byung rdo rje is said by Karma 'phrin las pa to have authored commentaries on all three works in the *Dohā Trilogy*. Only the commentary on the *People Dohā* (Rang byung rdo rje, *Do*) is available presently, and it does not contain any reference to Saraha's dating.

39. In this Gtsug lag phreng ba is in agreement with all of the sources currently available. The name of Śrīkīrti is so far unique to Rang byung rdo rje.

40. Gtsug lag phreng ba, *Dam pa*, pp. 741.1–742.18. The *Scholar's Feast* contains almost verbatim much of the narrative that is found in Guenther's rendering of Karma Trinlaypa's account. Since Gtsug lag phreng ba completed his history some 50 to 75 years after Karma 'phrin las pa probably wrote his commentaries on the *Dohā Trilogy*, we are left with several possibilities. One is to assume that the 1984 version of Karma 'phrin las pa's work is not the original, but rather a truncated version of an older recension, to which Guenther would thus have had access. In this case we can theorize either that the two writers drew from a common third source, or that Tsuklak Trengwa drew from the proposed older and longer version of Karma 'phrin las pa's work. Alternatively, it is possible that the version Guenther used was a composite work in itself, reflecting the work of later editors, and that the scenes found in Guenther's account which correspond to the *Scholar's Feast* are later additions.

41. Kun dga' rin chen, *Bka'*, pp. 4–7.

42. Bcom ldan ral gri, *Do*, f. 35a.

43. Little has been written about the life and works of Padma dkar po. See Smith (2001), chapter 6, on his history of Buddhism. See Huber (1999) on his activites at the great pilgrimage site of Tsari, and Beyer (1992) for brief examples of his poetic style.

44. See later for references and the full passage.

45. Anonymous, *Do*, pp. 318–321.

46. While not a narrative per se, Anonymous, *Dpal sa ra ha*, is cast as a dialogue between Saraha and Maitripa, a master generally regarded by Tibetan writers to succeed Saraha by two or more generations. In this short work, preserved in the Peking

edition of the Bstan 'gyur, Saraha responds apophatically to a series of kataphatic questions, bringing Maitripa ever closer to the notion that the Great Seal is ultimately ineffable. The work thus combines hagiographic invention with a more straightforward approach to Great Seal teachings.

47. Padma dkar po, *Chos*, pp. 108.2–111.2.

48. See also his discussions of *Treasury of Dohā Verses* in Padma dkar po, *Phyag*, pp. 29.3–33.2, and Padma dkar po, *Bka'*, pp. 371.6–373.1.

49. See Schaeffer (unpublished) for more details on myths of Vajrāsana.

50. The role of myths describing the subjugation of Maheśvara in Tibetan Buddhist tantric practice and religious politics has been studied by Davidson (1991).

51. Much the same argument is recapitulated in his *Sgrol ma'i rgyud kyi byung khungs*. See Templeman (1995), p. 14, for a translation, and pp. 107–108 for Templeman's edition of the Tibetan text.

52. This last line that Tāranātha cites is in fact the first line in the canonical recension of Saraha's *Treasury of Dohā Verses*. The unique writings of Tāranātha on the dohās, which share all the peculiarity of his hagiographic writings on the siddhas, deserve separate study. He wrote commentaries on a dohā of Jalandhāra (*Grub chen dza*), as well as two on the works of Kṛṣṇācārya (*Grub chen nag*; *Kanha*).

53. Tāranātha, *Bka'*, pp. 3.2–6.1.

54. Tāranātha, *Bka'*, p. 4. See Templeman (1983), p. 2, for another translation.

55. Tāranātha, *Bka'*, pp. 5–6). Templeman's translation of this passage contains several confusing points. Most important, he mistakes the name of the *Buddha's Skull Tantra* for a person's name. He translates (Templeman 1983, p. 3): "In one of the fragments of the Indian book of Siddha lists by Buddhakapala, it appears that in the intervening period, as there is nothing mentioned about Rāhula's ordination, then the Brāhmana Rāhula and the Sthavira Rāhula are clearly to be seen as separate people."

56. Abhayadatta is also credited with a commentary on the *Rin chen phreng ba*, where we find a less-cited verse attributed to Saraha. See Abhayadatta, *Rin*, p. 106.2: *sa ra ha'i zhal nas // gang gis bzung ba med pa'i sku ni rab tu mdzes // bum pa bzang dang dpag bsam nor bu rin chen ltar / ce gsungs so // gzung 'dzin gyi rtog pa spangs pa'i sems nyid de rab tu mdzes / dpe ci dang 'dra na / bum pa'am dpag bsam shing dam nor bu rin po che ltar mdzes zhes so //*.

57. *Vīraprabhāsvara/Dpa' bo 'od gsal, *Grub*, p. 126.3. See the following works: Anonymous, *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i byin rlabs bya*, p. 218.1; Dpa' bo 'od gsal, *Grub thob*, p. 126.3; Vīraprabhāsvara and Abhayaśrī, *Grub thob*, p. 203.4.1; Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Rdo rje'i mgur bzhengs pa*, D2449, f. 83a.2; *Do ha mdzod kyi glu*, by Saraha (D2224).

CHAPTER 2

1. Shākya mchog ldan, *Dpal*.

2. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, pp. 3–4.

3. See Egyed (1984) for a set of blockprints from Mongolia. Saraha is to be found on p. 30. See also NGMPP E3103/2.

4. See Ruegg (1966), p. 117.

5. See Tucci (1989), v. 1, pp. 155–156, and v. 3, plate 90 for a mural of Saraha.

6. See Ricca and Lo Bue (1993), pp. 23–24.

7. See D. Jackson (1996), p. 95, and p. 100 n. 216, where he cites the biography of Bo dong Paṇ chen: 'Jigs med 'bangs, *Dpal ldan*, p. 170.3.

8. See D. Jackson (1996), p. 171, and p. 178 n. 367, where he quotes Chos kyi rgya mtsho, *Gangs*, p. 17.2.

9. See D. Jackson (1996), p. 191, and p. 195 n. 455. For another *thangka* that includes Saraha, see D. Jackson (1996) fig. 137, and Rhie and Thurman (1991), p. 155. See also the *thangka* from Shar Khumbu in Nepal, reproduced in Snellgrove (1957), pl. 10 and pp. 296–297.

10. See D. Jackson (1996), p. 261, and p. 284 n. 611.

11. See D. Jackson (1996), p. 311, and p. 315 n. 689. Tshul khrims rin chen also wrote a verse praise to the Eighty-Four Adepts in ornate verse (*kāvya*). See Tshul khrims rin chen, *Grub*. Each verse illustrates a particular poetic figure, the name of which is given in annotation.

12. See for instance Kun dga' dpal 'byor, *Dpal ldan,* f. 1b, left pane.

13. Dpal gyi sde/*Śrīsena, *Grub*.

14. Dpal gyi sde/*Śrīsena, *Grub*, f. 16a.1. Schmid (1958) contains a translation of this entire work.

15. See Slusser (1982), pp. 381–391, for a helpful discussion of the various chronological systems in use throughout Nepalese history.

16. Dpal gyi sde/*Śrīsena, *Grub*, f. 17a.7: Note that Schmid (1958), p. 169, reads this date as 251, in which case the date—again if it is in Nepali Samvat—would be 1122.

17. Tshe dbang nor bu, *Grub*, p. 399.4–.5.

18. Blos gros mtha' yas, *Bla ma*, p. 72.4–.5. A similar description is given in Kong sprul's edited version of Tāranātha's *Whirling Drop of Attainment*. See Blo gros mtha' yas, *Grub*, p. 135.5.

19. Tshe dbang nor bu, *Grub*, pp. 416.4–418.1.

20. Tshe dbang nor bu, *Grub*, p. 397.1

21. Tshe dbang nor bu, *Grub*, p. 415.2.

22. The following examples, drawn from Bka' brgyud sources, by no means exhaust the cases of Tibetan masters wishing to meet Saraha. See Willis (1995), p. 117, where Paṇ chen Bla ma I, Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1570–1662) is said to have renovated retreat centers so as to make them appealing to Saraha. Saraha is of course evoked in the opening passage of the Paṇ chen bla ma's treatise on Māhāmudrā: Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, *Dge*, p. 432.

23. Khrag 'thung rgyal po, *Sgra bsgyur*, pp. 42–47. See Smith (2001), p. 74. The teachings Mar pa is said to have received from Saraha were preserved by Kong sprul in the *Gdams ngag mdzod*, v. 5, pp. 63–66. See Nalanda Translation Committee (1986), pp. 43–48.

24. Karma Pakshi, *Karma*, p. 102.

25. For more on the life of Rang byung rdo rje, see Schaeffer (1995).

26. Rang byung rdo rje, *Rang*, pp. 2.1–5.1.

27. Karma Pakshi, *Karma*, p. 85.

28. Blo gros mtha' yas, *Bla*, p. 62.4.

29. Vajrāsana, *Grub*. See Schmid (1958), p. 33.

30. Anonymous, *Grub thob brgyad*, p. 237.

31. Rin chen grub, *Grub*. Saraha occurs ninth in Bu ston's list.

32. Sakya (1970), pp. 32–35. Saraha occurs ninth.

33. See the *Rgya gar grub chen bdun cu rtsa gnyis*, contained in Ngag dbang blo bzang, *Lho*.

34. See Anonymous, *Grub chen brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i rjes gnang bya*, *Grub chen brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i byin rlabs yig cha*, and *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i byin rlabs bya*.

35. See Smith (2001), pp. 258–262, for a discussion of the many names of Kong sprul.

36. Blos gros mtha' yas, *Bla ma*. See especially the colophon, p. 100.1–.3.

37. See the introductory passage to Blo gros mtha' yas, *Grub*, p. 134.3. See also the colophon, p. 143.2–.3. The adepts included in this liturgy are as follows: (1) Saraha; (2) Nāgārjuna; (3) Śabaripa; (4) Kāṇhapa; (5) Virūpa; (6) Ḍombi Heruka; (7) Luhipa; (8) Gorakṣanātha; (9) Tantipa (10) Vajraghāṇṭa; (11) Jālandhāra; (12) Kukuripa; (13) Lwavapa; (14) Indrabhūti; (15) Padmakāra; (16) Kāṇha; (17) Virūpa; (18) Tillipa; (19) Nāropa; (20) Śāntipa; (21) Śāntigupta; (22) Buddhagupta.

38. Blos gros mtha' yas, *Bla ma*, p. 58.2.

39. Blos gros mtha' yas, *Bla ma*, p. 65.1–.5. It is clear from the wording of this passage, ending as it does in *bzhed*, that Kong sprul is citing another authority for this account.

40. Blos gros mtha' yas, *Bla ma*, pp. 65.5–67.4. See Kapstein (2000), pp. 56–58, for another translation of this passage.

41. The works of Saraha also found a place in the writings of Kongtrol's junior contemporary, Mipham: See Mi pham rgya mtsho, *Dpal* and *'Phags*.

42. Blos gros mtha' yas, *'Phags*, p. 117.2–.3.

43. Blos gros mtha' yas, *'Phags*, p. 102.2–.3.

44. Blos gros mtha' yas, *'Phags*, p. 106.3–.6.

45. Blos gros mtha' yas, *'Phags*, p. 106.6.

46. Blos gros mtha' yas, *Bla ma*, p. 62.4.

47. Blos gros mtha' yas, *Bla ma*, p. 86.3.

CHAPTER 3

1. Grags pa rdo rje dpal bzang po, *Mkhan*.

2. See van der Kuijp (1994) for more details on this work.

3. Passed away circa 1225. This teacher was invited to Tibet by Khro phu Lo tsā ba Byams pa'i dpal (1172–1236), and remained there from 1204 to 1214. See D. Jackson (1990b) and van der Kuijp (1994) for discussions of this important Buddhist master.

4. See Roerich (1988), p. 69.

5. Grags pa rdo rje dpal bzang po, *Mkhan*, f. 1b.1–.3.

6. Grags pa rdo rje dpal bzang po, f. 16b.1–.3. See Roerich (1988), p. 1071, for a similar lineage.

7. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, p. 3.

8. Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, *Bde mchog rgyud*, p. 113. See also Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, *Bde mchog lūhi*, p. 609, where Saraha counted as a member of the Cakrasaṃvara lineage. The beginning of the lineage is Vajradhara, Vajrapāṇi, Saraha, Nāgārjuna, Saraha the Younger. Sa skya Paṇḍita reports that Saraha is said to live as a rainbow body on Śrī Parvata.

9. Grags pa rdo rje dpal bzang po, *Mkhan*, ff. 4b.3–5a.1.

10. Grags pa rdo rje dpal bzang po, *Mkhan*, f. 4a.6.

11. Grags pa rdo rje dpal bzang po, *Mkhan*, f. 5b.3–5b.5.

12. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, p. 7.

13. Gtsug lag phreng ba, *Dam pa*, p. 742.

14. *Lung phran tshegs kyi rnam par bshad pa*: D4115.

15. Grags pa rdo rje dpal bzang po, *Mkhan*, ff. 5b.5–6b.3.

16. *'Dul ba'i mdo*: D4117.

17. Mar me mdzad ye shes, *Byang*. See Davidson (1995), p. 301, v. 67.
18. Grags pa rdo rje dpal bzang po, *Mkhan*, f. 6a.
19. Grags pa rdo rje dpal bzang po, *Mkhan*, f. 6a.6.
20. Mar me mdzad ye shes, *Byang*. See Davidson (1995), p. 301, v. 64.
21. A recapitulation of *Lamp for the Path*, v. 67.

CHAPTER 4

1. See Davidson (2002a).
2. Gzhon nu dpal, *Deb*.
3. See Roerich (1988), p. 841.
4. Chos kyi grags pa, *Gzhon*, ff. 72b.7–73a.2.
5. Roerich (1988), p. 860.
6. I have not considered in this chapter the transmission history of the other teachings for which Saraha is held to be pivotal, such as the *Buddhakapāla-tantra*, or the six-limbed yoga (Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga) practices. According to Tāranātha, Śavaripa developed the six-limbed yoga based on the dohā of Saraha. See his Tāranātha, *Rdo*, p. 707. On the history of the Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga in India and Tibet, see Stearns (1996), especially n. 46, in which he translates an interesting hagiography of Śavaripa from the *Kālacakra* history of Padma gar dbang, composed in 1538 (see Stearns [1996], n. 3 for more information). Saraha figures prominently in this tale. Saraha is quoted in Raviśrījñāna's work on six-limbed yoga: See Grönbold (1969), p. 19, and more generally, see Grönbold (1996).
7. See *Rdo rje gdan gyi rdo rje glu* (D1494), *Rdo rje gdan gyi rdo rje'i glu'i 'grel pa* (D1495), *Spyod pa'i glu* (D1496), and *Spyod pa'i glu'i 'grel pa* (D1497).
8. *Treasury of Dohā Verses*, lns. 56–57.
9. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, p. 11.
10. See Tatz (1988) for a discussion of the historical problems surrounding this meeting. On Maitripa, alias Advayavajra, see also Tatz (1987) and (1994).
11. Dates according to Eimer (1979), p. 41.
12. Roerich (1988), p. 261.
13. Roerich (1988), p. 261, esp. p. 844.
14. See Nam mkha' grags pa, *Jo bo*, p. 166. Thanks to Ron Davidson for pointing this passage out to me. See also pp. 158 and 179. See Decleer (1996) for a discusion and content analysis of this biography.
15. See Nam mkha' grags pa, *Jo bo*, p. 179.
16. Roerich (1988), p. 247.
17. Grags pa rdo rje dpal bzang po, *Mkhan*, f. 5a.
18. D1494, D1495, D1497.
19. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, f. 11b. I have found no other mention of this translation.
20. Roerich (1988), pp. 73, 1021.
21. Bsod nams rtse mo, *Bla ma*, p. 263.
22. Roerich (1988), pp. 839–866.
23. Roerich (1988), pp. 842–843 and 855–860.
24. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, p. 11–12.
25. From his Tibetan name, Skye med bde chen, I conjecture that Asu is a Newāri abbreviation of a Sanskrit name such as *Ajātasukha, or *Ajātamahāsukha.
26. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, p. 12.1.
27. Guenther (1993), p. 13.

28. See Roerich (1988), pp. 860–862.

29. Possibly 'Brom stod, on the Skyid chu northeast of Lhasa. See Ferrari (1958), p. 105 n. 100. 'Brom occurs only one other time in Roerich (1988): p. 295, in the context of Btsang pa Rin po che's (b. 1077) travels around Lhasa.

30. Possibly a valley northeast of Mal gro gung dkar; see Chan (1994), p. 560.

31. Roerich (1988), pp. 872–873.

32. Skye med bde chen, *Do ha*. See Guenther (1969).

33. Skye med bde chen, *Do*, f. 55b.1.

34. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, p. 314.5–.6.

35. Saraha, *Mi*, f. 33b.4.

36. Ngag dbang brtson 'grus, *Kun*. See Schaeffer (1999) for a discussion of the printing of this and other works of the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje.

37. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, p. 157.

38. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, p. 12.1.

39. Roerich (1988), p. 864.

40. Despite the interesting cultural observation made by Asu on the Tibetan preference for detailed explication, we cannot go as far as Guenther (1993, p. 13) does in making this a defining feature of Tibetan Buddhism. Go Lotsawa states that Balpo Asu was of Indian ancestry, not Tibetan. This fact alone invalidates Guenther's assessment of the cultural tension underlying this scene, for both of the teachers in question were natives of Indic cultures: there simply is no Indian–Tibetan divide involved. Even if Balpo Asu were of Tibetan descent, we cannot extrapolate from this single account a theory of the "Tibetan Mind," a sort of universal predilection informing Ngari Jodan's outlook.

41. Roerich (1988), p. 864.

42. See Roerich (1988), pp. 566–568.

43. Tshul khrims rin chen, *Kun*, p. 698.

44. Roerich (1988), p. 219.

45. Roerich (1988), p. 394.

46. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, p. 11.

47. Grags pa rdo rje dpal bzang po, *Mkhan*, f. 5a.

48. Advayavajra, *Mi*.

49. Bcom ldan ral gri, *Do*, ff. 2b–3a.

50. Brtson 'grus grags pa, Rje btsun, p. 61.6.

51. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, f. 11a.

52. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, p. 12.2.

53. Tshe dbang rgyal, *Dam*, p. 111.

54. Roerich (1988), p. 438.

55. Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Rdo rje'i mgur*: D2449, f. 83a.2.

56. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, p. 11.

57. Brtson 'grus grags pa, *Bla ma bhe*. See also Brtson 'grus grags pa, *Rgyud* and *Bla ma sna*. I have treated Vairocana more fully in Schaeffer (2000a).

58. Bcom ldan ral gri, *Do*, f. 36b.

59. Roerich (1988), p. 837. The section immediately preceding the list of the nineteen translators of the *Kālacakratantra* is a biography of 'Gos Lo tsā ba's junior contemporary, Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1424–1482), and it is not clear whether the list is part of this editorial addition by Chos grags ye shes.

60. Roerich (1988), pp. 1052–1054.

61. Kajiyama (1966), pp. 6–11.

62. Rin chen rnam rgyal, *Bram*.

63. Bcom ldan ral gri, *Do,* f. 2b.

64. On Dānaśila see D. Jackson (1987), p. 111. On the jo gdan/jo stan, see D. Jackson (1990b), pp. 21–22.

65. See the chart in Saṃkṛtyāyana (1957), p. 459. According to Saṃkṛtyāyana (1957), p. 67, this mansucript is from Sa skya, but see Saṃkṛtyāyana (1937), p. 54, where he lists a manuscript of the *Dohākoṣa* in sixty folios located at Ngor Monastery. It is unclear whether these are the same or not.

CHAPTER 5

1. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha,* p. 12.

2. 'Gro mgon Sangs rgyas ras chen dpal grags. Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sgrub,* pp. 53–67.

3. A student of 'Gro mgon ras chen. See Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sgrub,* pp. 68–75.

4. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha,* p. 12.

5. See Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Sgrub,* pp. 195.2 and 195.7–198.2.

6. Rang byung rdo rje, *Do.*

7. Rang byung rdo rje, *Do,* p. 643.

8. Rang byung rdo rje, *Do,* p. 644.

9. Guenther (1993), p. 14 n. 30, identifies this Lo as Lo ras pa Dbang phyug brtson grus, fountainhead of what was later to be known as the Lower 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud school (Smad 'brug), on whom see Roerich (1988), pp. 672–676, esp. p. 674, where he is said to have studied the *Dohās.* The order in which Karma 'phrin las pa lists these masters indicates that this Lo cannot be Lo ras pa, for he was born only one year before Gling ras pa Padma rdo rje, who recieved teachings from both Lo and Sum pa.

10. See Roerich (1988), pp. 439–441, for brief biographies of these masters.

11. See Roerich (1988), pp. 661–663.

12. See Roerich (1988), pp. 332–333 for a brief biography of Phya pa, and pp. 334–335 for a mention of Spar phu ba, alias Par phu ba.

13. See Roerich (1988), p. 864, for a brief mention of Gu shul ba in the context of Mahāmudra lineages.

14. See Roerich (1988), pp. 566–568, for a brief biography of Spar phu ba. Guenther (1993), p. 13, has *G.yor po* for Roerich's (1988) *G.yo ru gra,* and *Rnga* for Roerich's (1988) *Rngan* (see Roerich's [1988], p. 566).

15. See Roerich (1998), p. 893.

16. Roerich (1998), pp. 890–896, for the lineage descending from Dgyer sgom and the dohā teachings passed on.

17. See Roerich (1998), pp. 864–865.

18. See Roerich (1998), p. 864.

19. Other Tibetan commentaries on the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* which have fallen outside of the scope of this essay include those by Lha btsun pa Rin chen rnam rgyal, 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje I Ngag dbang brtson 'grus (1648–1722) (see Schaeffer [1999] for a discussion of the colophon of this work), and 'Jam mgon Mi pham, for which see the bibliography. Saraha's works had a tremendous influence on later exegeses of Mahāmudra philosophy and practice. For instance, in the massive compendia of Great Seal thought, the *Zla ba'i 'od zer* (composed 1566 or 1578), Dwags po Paṇ chen Bkra shis rnam rgyal (1512–1587) weaves together no less than eighty-one passages from the various dohās of Saraha. Note the heirarchy of citation

in Bkra shis rnam rgyal's work; whenever Saraha is cited along with other Indian adepts, he is always placed first. Since there is no index to Lhalungpa's translation of the *Zla ba'i 'od zer* (Takpo Tashi Namgyal [1986]), I list here all the occurrences of Saraha's name in the translation of this important work: pp. 4, 7, 82–83, 104, 110, 115, 116, 143, 144 (mentions dohā, not Saraha), 158, 162–163, 179, 180, 184, 186, 190, 193, 195–196, 219, 234, 236, 259, 264, 266, 268–270, 273–275, 281–283, 295–296, 302, 315–316, 319–320, 322, 324–325, 332, 335, 340–341, 345, 364, 387, 394, 400, 409.

20. See Roerich (1998), pp. 102–104, where 'Gos Lo tsā ba takes Bu ston to task for including a work in the *Bstan 'gyur*, which quotes from the *Gsang ba'i snying po* (*Guhyagarbha*) Tantra, a favorite tantra of the Rnying ma pa which appears to have been judged unworthy of canonical status by the scholar at Zhwa lu.

21. Rin chen grub, *Bstan*, pp. 496.6–497.1.

22. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, pp. 8–9, and Roerich (1998), p. 846.

23. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, p. 9.

24. Roerich (1998), p. 846.

25. Brtson 'grus grags pa, *Rgyud*, p. 429; Brtson 'grus grags pa, *Bla*, p. 442.

26. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, pp. 9–10. Compare Guenther (1993), p. 11, with which my reading of the passage in Karma 'phrin las pa's text dealing with the argument of certain detractors of the the *Dohā Trilogy* differs.

27. See van der Kuijp (1989).

28. Grags pa rdo rje dpal bzang po, *Mkhan*, f. 5a.

29. Nāropa, *Dbang*. Extant in Sanskrit as the *Sekkodeśaṭikā*: See Tsukamoto et al. (1989–1990), p. 334. Verses attributed to Saraha can be found in Carrelli (1941), pp. 48/1–/3, 53; see Gnoli and Orofino (1994), p. 257, for an Italian translation of these verses. Compare Carrelli p. 48/1 ll. 8–9 with Bagchi (1938) p. 22 ll. 5–6.

30. D1395 and P2111. See P2111 f. 65b.5–.7, ff. 68b.2–.4, 88a.2. This work is extant in Sanskrit manuscript: See Tsukamoto et al. (1989–1990), vol. 4, p. 342.

31. D2256, D2257, D2268. D2256 is extant in Sanskrit: See Bagchi (1935).

32. Templeman (1983), p. 25.

33. D1127 (vol. Ka, ff. 76a.1–76b.7).

34. See Lindtner (1987), p. 196.

35. D1170 (vol. Ka, ff. 246b.1–249a.5).

36. Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams, *Gsang*, p. 57.

37. Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams, *Grub*, p. 24.

38. The place of Saraha and the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* in the writings of Sa skya pa authors deserves more attention. Sa skya Paṇḍita's critique of "neo-Mahāmudra" in the *Sdom gsum rab tu dbye ba* may or may not have been intended to include Saraha, though it is certainly considered to have been by later Bka' brgyud pa writers such as the Eighth Karma pa, Mi skyod rdo rje (1507–1554) (See Ruegg [1989a], p. 108). See Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, *Sdom*, f. 23a.3. This line occurs in a list of means by which the adepts of India were claimed to have acheived realization. See also *Sdom gsum rab tu dbye ba*, f. 48a.3, which mentions Saraha's dohā in a list of works heard by Sa skya Paṇḍita. Bsod nams seng ge (1429–1489), *Sdom*, f. 108a, includes Saraha's work among the *Snying po skor drug*. See Ruegg (1989), pp. 101–110, for a discussion of the critique of Mahāmudra by Sa skya Paṇḍita.

39. Generally speaking, it is clear that Saraha was held in high esteem by members of all traditions at different times and places in Tibet. For instance, the Jo nang pa master, Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan (1292–1360), cites Saraha as one of his major influences (See Stearns [1999], p. 53). The extent and character of his influence will need to be analyzed case by case.

40. See Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams, *Dge*, p. 13. He closely follows Bsod nams lha'i dbang po, *Bka'*, pp. 219–224, esp. p. 219.

CHAPTER 6

1. Vaudeville (1993), p. 107.
2. See Vaudeville (1993), p. 111.
3. The development of the tradition of poetic songs (*mgur, glu, rdo rje'i glu, do ha*) in Tibet has been discussed in R. Jackson (1995), Sorensen (1990). Don grub rgyal, *Bod*, provides the most comprehensive modern Tibetan survey of this literature. See also Ardussi (1977), Beyer (1992), pp. 408–423, Tulku Thundup and Kapstein (1993), and Templeman (1994).
4. D424: *Dpal sangs rgyas thod pa shes bya ba rnal 'byor ma'i rgyud kyi rgyal po*. The tantra itself was also translated by Gayādhara and Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer.
5. Compare Bhattacharyya (1925), v. 1, pp. 79–80 with pp. 81–82. See Tsukamoto et al. (1989–1990), p. 397, for more bilbiographic details.
6. Tshul khrims rin chen, *Kun*, p. 693.
7. They comprise volumes *Wi*, *Zhi*, and *Zi* of the *Rgyud* section of the Sde dge Bstan 'gyur.
8. D2291, P3139.
9. D2291, P3138, MTPB pp. 205–206.
10. D2289, P3137.
11. D2368, P3196.
12. D2356, P3184.
13. D2355.
14. D2354.
15. See chapter 2 for references.
16. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, p. 8.
17. Vaudeville (1993), p. 109.
18. Karma 'phrin las pa, *Do ha*, p. 8.5.
19. Anonymous, *Do*, f. 321.
20. Gtsug lag phreng ba, *Dam pa*, p. 742.
21. Bcom ldan ral gri, f. 1b.5.
22. Blo gros mtha' yas, *Bla ma*, p. 66.
23. Blo gros mtha' yas, *Bla ma*, p. 67.
24. See Lienhard (1984), pp. 65–104, and more generally, Sternbach (1974).
25. Kosambi and Gokhale (1957), p. xxxix.
26. Kvaerne (1986), esp. pp. 1–8.
27. Roerich (1998), pp. 914–915. 'Gos Lo tsā ba devotes a lengthy chapter (chap. 12,) to the life and legacy of Dam pa, and the Zhi byed teachings more generally. For more on the Tibetan historiographic tradition concerned with Dam pa, see Gyatso (1985), and more recently Kollmar-Paulenz (1993), which includes a full German translation of the late nineteenth-century scholar Khyams smon Dharma seng ge's *Zhi byed chos 'byung*.
28. Vīraprabhāsvara/Dpa' bo 'od gsal. *Grub*.
29. Dhamadhuma, *Rin*.
30. *Dam chos snying po zhi byed las Rgyud kyi snyan rgyud zab byed ma*. See the bibliographic listings under Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas.
31. See Herrmann-Pfandt (1992), pp. 407–415, for a brief discussion of several of

these works, primarily centered on the place of the songs in the *gaṇacakra* and the mythology of the ḍākinīs.

32. Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Lam dri ma myed pa dngul sgong*, *Lam dri ma myed pa gser sgong*, and *Lam dri ma myed pa shel sgong*.

33. Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Ngo*.

34. Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Phyag rgya chen po rin po che brda' man ngag*: D2445, f. 74b.4.

35. Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Dpal*: D2441, f. 62b.1.

36. Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Thugs*: D2443, f. 67a.3.

37. Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Grub thob lnga bcu'i rtogs*: D2444, f. 71b.2.

38. Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Mkha'*: D2446, f. 79a.5.

39. Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Rdo rje'i mgur*: D2449, f. 83a.1.

40. Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Rnal 'byor pa thams cad*: D2453, f. 92b.

41. Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Phyag rgya chen po brda'i brgyud*: D2439, f. 50a.2.

42. Ingalls (1965), pp. 398–402.

43. Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Rnal 'byor pa thams cad*: D2453, f. 92b.1.

44. Roerich (1998), p. 870.

45. Diringer (1982), p. 362.

46. For an interesting discussion of poetic collections contained in scrolls in Greek and Latin literature, see van Sickle (1980).

47. Diringer (1982), pp. 403–415.

48. Roerich (1998), p. 871.

49. See also Roerich (1998), p. 934, where we are told that a particular teaching from Pha Dam pa's tradition cannot be taught because the book was ruined by mice, suggesting that this tradition was textually based and not able to continue as a purely oral tradition.

50. On *byang* and its various meanings in Tibetan *gter ma* literature, see Gyatso (unpublished).

51. Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Mkha'*, *Rdo rje mkha'*, *Thugs*, and *Ye*.

52. Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Lam dri ma myed pa gser sgong*, p. 242.

53. Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Lam dri ma myed pa shel sgong*, p. 248.

54. Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Gnad kyi gdams pa*. (1) Symbol of Realization (*Rtogs pa'i brda'*); (2) Symbol of Meditation (*Bsgom pa'i brda'*); (3) Symbol of Practice (*Spyod pa'i brda'*); (4) Symbol of Result (*'Bras bu'i brda'*); (5) Symbol of Path (*Lam gyi brda'*); (6) Symbol of Experience (*Nyams kyi brda'*); (7) Symbol of Essence (*Gnad kyi brda'*).

55. Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Gnad kyi gdams pa*: D2447, f. 81a.2.

56. The chapter titles are as follows: (1) Eggshell of Unknowing Cracked. (Ma rig pa sgo nga'i sbubs rnam par phye ba); (2) Golden Sun Shining (Gser gyi nyi ma rnam par snang ba); (3) Splendor of Primordial Awareness Sparkling (Ye shes kyi mdangs rnam par dangs pa); (4) One's Own Natural Essence Seen (Gnyug ma rang gi ngo bo gzigs pa); (5) Mirror of the Heart Purified (Snying gi me long rnams par dag pa); (6) Glorious Light Rays Dawning (Dpal gyi 'od zer rnam par shar ba); (7) Treasure of Inexhaustible Jewels Revealed (Mi zad pa'i rin po che'i gter mdzod rnam par rdol ba); (8) Sap of the Śrīvasta Gem Dripping (Dpal gyi be'u'i bcud rnam par 'thigs pa); (9) Rain of Nectar Fallen (Bdu rtsi'i char rnam par phab pa).

57. Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas, *Rnal 'byor pa thams cad*: D2453, f. 92b.1.

58. Advayavajra, *Mi*, f. 264b.3.

59. See Saraha, *Do ha mdzod kyi glu* edition, ll. 154–162.

60. Advaya Avadhūti, *Do,* f. 66.2.
61. Advaya Avadhūti, *Do,* f. 66.4.

CHAPTER 7

1. Pickens (1978), pp. 19–43, and van Vleck (1991), among numerous others, have shown various European forms of poetic literature as well to be the products of tradition, influenced by both oral and textual transmission, and thus unsuited to be studied with an author-centered model of textual production. See also Bonazzoli (1985) on the problems inherent in editing *purāṇas* from radically divergent local traditions.

2. Advayavajra, *Mi.*

3. See Callewaert (1992).

4. The dohā and related meters were well suited for variation and creative innovation on the part of the transmitters of the work; Schomer (1987) has shown that certain characteristics of this type of verse such as rhyme, formulaic phraseology, and the relatively free variation of syllable length within a line work in conjunction with the impressionistic style of the poem to form the raw materials of variation, at least in the tradition of Kabir. See Sen (1973) for a brief and helpful survey of Apabhraṃśa meters. The meters to be met with in the *Dohākoṣas* of Saraha and Kaṇha are presented in Shahidullah (1928).

5. An Apabhraṃśa version of the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* was first made available to modern scholarly communities in 1916, when H. P. Śastri published the first edition of the *Dohā* and its only extant Sanskrit commentary in Bengali script. Subsequent editions followed, first by Shahidullah (1928), Bagchi (1935), pp. 1–180, and (1938), and Saṃkṛtyāyana (1957). Numerous fragments of the *Dohākoṣa* are anthologized in the *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha*; see Bendall (1903–1904). The discovery of *Treasury of Dohā Verses* also began a half-century debate on the linguistic peculiarities of its language, and its place in the development of Indian languages. Relevant literature includes Bagchi (1934) and (1936), Basu (1927), Bhattacharyya (1928), Chatterji (1975), Chatterji (1975), Chatterji and Sen (1957), De (1993), Ghosal (1956), Tsuyoshi Nara (1961a), (1961b), (1963), Yasuaki Nara (1966), Roychaudhuri (1940–1941a), (1940–1941b), Nilratan Sen (1973), Subhadra Kumar Sen (1973), Tagare (1987), and Zbavitel (1976). Despite their limitations, editions of the early twentieth century continue to be used for the study of medieval Indic historical linguistics, as in Bubenik (1996) and (1998), section 4.1.

6. See Tsuyoshi Nara (1961a), p. 63: "But we cannot give any proof of it whether Saraha himself wrote this *Dohākoṣa*. It is more probable that one of his disciples wrote and compiled the teachings which Saraha used to preach to his disciples as well as to the public."

7. On manuscripts from the Kathmandu valley, see Lienhard (1988) and the bibliographic references contained therein.

8. This manuscript has subsequently been filmed twice by the NGMMP, once in 1970 (A21/13) and again in 1989 (A1370/5). Photographs of two folios were reproduced in Bagchi (1935), following p. 180.

9. Bagchi (1935), p. 8.

10. Translation tentative.

11. This verse is found in the canonical Tibetan version of the *Dohākoṣa* of Tilopa (D2281), f. 136 b. See Torricelli (1997), p. 43.

12. Verse 11 has presented such difficulties that I have not ventured a translation.

13. Bagchi (1935), pp. 7–8.

14. I have found no verses in any of the *Dohā Trilogy* works that match the verses in this early fragment.

15. This situation finds parallels in the transmission of the songs of troubadours such as Jaufré Rudel. See Pickens (1978), p. 36: "Jaufré's courtly lyric is not, therefore, authoritative in the same sense as scripture and learned tracts which must be transmitted free from error and interpreted and 'perfected' only in glosses kept distinct and separate from the principal text. Rather, his function as 'author' is that of prime creator and generator whose work is freed to be re-created and re-generated. Doubtless, the author himself participated in the regeneration of his own songs, but, doubtless also, other re-creators, scribes, performers, patrons, undertook to perfect received texts consciously and within the intention of the troubadour. Transmitters also became, therefore, authors in their own right."

16. But see Y. Nara (1966), p. 52, who counts 170 verses.

17. This figure is according to Saṃkṛtyāyana (1957), p. 467. The traditional Tibetan calculation is 160 verses. In fact it is difficult to speak of verses in the Tibetan translation, for many of the lines can be easily grouped into different configurations according to the exigencies of any particular commentarial strategy.

18. All of these figures are based on my reading of the charts compiled in Saṃkṛtyāyana (1957), pp. 459–467.

19. See Bagchi (1935), p. 146.

20. See Bagchi (1935), pp. 147–148.

21. As noted by Farrow and Menon (1992), p. xliii. *Hevajra-tantra* II.v. 68. See Snellgrove (1959), v. 2, pp. 84–85. Shahidullah reconstructs this verse; see Shahidullah (1928), p. 135, v. 29. This verse is missing from Advayavajra's *Dohākoṣa-pañjikā*: see Bagchi (1935), p. 73 n. 1. Compare the verse from the *Hevajra-tantra* with the Sankṛtyāyana *Dohākoṣa*, v. 52: see Saṇkṛtyāyana (1957), p. 12.

22. AA, L bar.

23. AA srid med for ji srid; L srid min.

24. AA na.

25. Bcom ldan ral gri, *Do*, ff. 2b–3a. See Schaeffer (2000b).

26. In the following examples plain text signals that the two versions have the same wording but not necessarily the same order, underline signals unique words, phrases, and verses of the *Extensive Commentary*'s version, and **boldface** indicates that the two have exactly the same verse.

27. Advayavajra, *Mi*, f. 211b.5.

28. See Guenther (1993), p. 161 n. 17.

29. See Advayavajra, *Mi*, f. 225a.7.

30. Advayavajra, *Mi*, f. 236a.6.

31. Advayavajra, *Mi*, f. 236a.2.

32. There are many other examples of this: *de ni bstan bcos don mang mya ngan gyi* // (*Treasury of Dohā Verses,* line 263) becomes *de ni bstan bcos don med mya ngan gyi* // (*Rgya cher bshad pa,* Schaeffer [2000b] edition, line 396); *bdag gis yongs su brtags pas thar pa thob bam ci* // (*Treasury of Dohā Verses,* line 304) becomes *de dag gis ni yongs su brtags pa na* // *de ma rtogs pas thar pa thob bam ci* // (*Rgya cher bshad pa,* lines 440–441); *sgyu ma'i rnal 'byor pa ni dpe dang bral ba ste* // (*Treasury of Dohā Verses,* line 422) becomes *sgyu ma'i rnam pa dang ni dper dang bral* // (*Rgya cher bshad pa,* line 605); *lhan cig skyes dga' bzhi pa'i dus* // (*Treasury of Dohā Verses,* line 463) becomes *lhan cig skyes pas zhi ba'i dus kyi tshe* // (*Rgya cher bshad pa,* line 646), for

which see Advayavajra, *Mi*, f. 288a.5: *lhan cig skyes pa'i ye shes kyi de kho na nyid skyes pas nyon mongs par rnam par rtog pa zhi ba'i dus . . . ; dbye ba de nyid 'ching dang bral bar bya //* (*Treasury of Dohā Verses*, line 511) becomes *bde ba'i de nyid dang ni bral bar byas //* (*Rgya cher bshad pa*, line 725).

33. See Advayavajra, *Mi*, f. 279b.6.

34. *Do ha mdzod*, lines 31–32.

35. Advayavajra, *Mi*, f. 216.4.

36. Advayavajra, *Mi*, f. 216.5.

37. Advayavajra, *Mi*, f. 216.7.

38. Bagchi (1935), p. 120.

39. See the edition of the verses in Advayavajra, *Mi*, (Schaeffer [2000b]), lines 28, 106, 120, 147, 151, 157, 160, 166, 169, 183, 212, 226, 228, 257, 286, 322, 479, 544, 585, 586, 589, 735, 736, 747, and 755.

40. Advayavajra, *Mi*, f. 209a.7.

41. See the commentary to these lines; Advayavajra, *Mi*, f. 222a.3–5.

42. See the edition of the *Rgya cher bshad pa* verses, lines 147, 151, 157, 160, 183, 228, 257, and 286.

43. Bagchi (1935), p. 11.

44. Bagchi (1935), p. 12.

45. Bagchi (1935), p. 13.

46. Bagchi (1935), p. 14.

47. Advayavajra, *Mi*, f. 263a.5–6.

48. See Martin (1979) for a brief study of the life of Gling ras pa and his role in the founding of the 'Brug pa school.

49. Roerich (1998), p. 664.

50. Padma rdo rje, *Dho*, p. 370.

51. This section is entitled *Bla ma bsten par byed pa'i chos*, pp. 383–392.

52. The word *bla ma* occurs sixteen times in the *Treasury of Dohā Verses*: lines (edition in Schaeffer [2000b]) 22, 73, 74, 122, 137, 152, 160, 256, 261, 265, 281, 303, 316, 333, 459, and 497.

53. See the translation for the relevant passage.

THE *TREASURY OF DOHĀ VERSES* AND *ORNAMENTAL FLOWER FOR THE DOHĀS*

1. See Schaeffer and van der Kuijp (2005) and Schwabland (1994).

2. See Kvaerne (1975) and especially Davidson (2002c).

3. See Guenther (1993).

4. See also Davidson (2002c), p. 55.

5. Rin chen rnam rgyal, *Bram*.

6. *Nāmasaṅgīti-amṛtabinduvṛtti*: D1396; P2111, v. 48, p. 29.4.2–.4.

7. *Hevajra-tantra* I.i.12. See Snellgrove (1959) pt.1 p. 48, pt.2 p. 3, and Ferrow and Menon (1992), p. 11.

8. *Ratnagotravibhāga* 1.13. See Takasaki (1966), p. 172.

9. *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 9.37. See Griffiths (1990), p. 53.

10. *Ratnagotravibhāga* 2.6. See Takasaki (1966), p. 315.

11. *Pramāṇavārttika* 2.208cd.

12. *Pañcakrama*: D1802. f. 55b.1–.2.

13. A *Rnam par mi rtog par bstod pa* attributed to Nāgārjuna does not appear in the *Bstan 'gyur*.

14. *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā*: D3855, f. 32b.

15. *Pramāṇavārttika* 2.257cd-258ab: Miyasaka (1971–72) 1.257cd-258ab.
16. *Viśeṣastava*: D1109, *Bstod tshogs*, v. *Ka*, ff. 2b–3a.
17. See Mokṣākaragupta's *Do ha mdzod kyi bka' 'grel*, f. 265b.2–.4.
18. *Jñānasārasamuccaya: D3851, Dbu ma*, v. *Tsha*, f. 27b.2.
19. *Hevajra-tantra* I.v.11ab. Snellgrove (1959), pt. 2, p. 17; pt.1, p. 61.
20. *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* 6.12c: see Davidson (1981), v. 53: see pp. 25, 53.
21. *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*: D4020, f. 13b.5–.6. The translation of this quoted passage is tentative.
22. *Guhyasiddhi*, chap. 3, vv. 40d–41c. Rinpoche and Dwivedi (Tibetan section), p. 36.
23. *Hevajra-tantra* I.viii.36. Snellgrove (1959), pt.1, p. 76; pt. 2, p. 29.
24. *Guhyagarbhatattvaviniścaya*: D832, f. 123b.5.
25. *Guhyasamajatantra*, chap 18: D443, f. 148b.2.
26. *Dvikramatattvabhāvanā-nāma-mukhāgama*: D1853, f. 17a.2.
27. This is a paraphrase of Mokṣākaragupta's commentary. Cf. D2258, v. *Wi* ff. 266b.1–4.
28. *Cittavajra-stava*: D1121: See Tola and Dragonetti (1985), pp. 37–38.
29. *Pramāṇavārttika*: Pratyakṣa Chapter, v. 218cd: See Miyasaka (1970–72), pp. 70–71.
30. The *Treasury of Dohā Verses* of Tilopa, lns. 23–24. See Torricelli (1997), p. 42.
31. The *Treasury of Dohā Verses* of Tilopa, lns. 6–7. See Torricelli (1997), p. 40.
32. *Hevajra-tantra* I.vii.44a–b. See Snellgrove (1959), pt.1, p. 77.
33. Rin chen rnam rgyal, *Bram*, has *mgo bo*, in which case the verse would read, "Stamp down the head of the the deluded world." *Mgon* is the preferred reading of most of the commentators.
34. Reading *rdog* for Ral 'gri's *rtogs*.
35. *Guhyasāmajatantra*: D442.
36. *Átajñāna-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*: D122, f. 153a.5–.7.
37. Not located in either D1853 or 1854.
38. See Lamotte (1973), vol. 1 pp. 31, 107.
39. See Lindtner (1987), pp. 110–111.
40. Ral gri reads *'chi ba* for the more common *'ching ba*.
41. *Guhyasiddhi*. See Rinpoche and Dwivedi [Tibetan section], p. 35.
42. See Mokṣākaragupta, *Do ha mdzod kyi dka' 'grel*, f. 269a.4–.7.
43. *Karmāntavibhaṅgha*: D1811, f. 126b.6.
44. *Dpal gsang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid rnam par nges pa*: D832, f. 115b.4–.5.
45. *Subhāhuparipṛchā-nāma-tantra*: D805.
46. Mokṣākaragupta, *Do ha mdzod kyi dka' 'grel*, f. 270b.3–.6.
47. *Hevajra-tantra* I.ix.20. Snellgrove (1959), v. 2, p. 35. The Tibetan version of this verse used by Ral gri is taken from Mokṣākaragupta's commentary, ff. 270b.6.
48. See Lindnter (1987), pp. 200–201, v. 51. This and the following two verses appear to be from a different translation than the canonical version edited by Lindnter.
49. See Lindnter (1987), pp. 198–199, v. 45.
50. See Lindnter (1987), pp. 200–201, v. 50.
51. *Karmāntavibhaṅgha*: D1811, f. 146a.6.
52. *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhi*: D494.
53. Mokṣākaragupta, *Do ha mdzod kyi dka' 'grel*, f. 272a.5–.7.
54. *Do ha mdzod*: D2281, *Rgyud*, v. *Zhi*, p. 137a, verse lines 66–70.
55. *Ratnagotravibhāga* 1.44. See Takasaki (1966), p. 227.

56. *Hevajra-tantra* II.iv. 69. See Snellgrove (1959), pt. I, p. 107.
57. Ral gri's text has *gar 'gro soms*, agreeing with L.
58. *Jñānasārasamuccaya*: D3851, f. 27b.7.
59. Ral gri does not comment upon these four lines.
60. Mokṣākaragupta, *Do ha mdzod kyi dka' 'grel*, f. 276a.7.
61. Ral gri appears to be commenting here on a different set of lines, partially preserved in M and L.
62. *Vajramāla*: D445.
63. A variant of *Hevajra-tantra* II.iii.42cd. See Snellgrove (1959), pt. I, p. 98.
64. Lines 411–412 agree with *Rgya cher bshad pa*: D2257, lines 594–595.
65. Agrees with *Rgya cher bshad pa*: D2257, line 596.
66. Ral gri's commentary agrees with *Rgya cher bshad pa*, D227: lines 606–607.
67. *Hevajra-tantra* I.i.12. See Snellgrove (1959), p. 48.
68. In place of lines 445–448, Ral gri comments here on a set of verse lines that roughly follow M and D2257, *Rgya cher bshad pa*.
69. *Phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag*: D2303, v. *Zhi*, ff. 244a.2. See Tiso and Torricelli (1991), pp. 219–220.
70. Takasaki (1966), p. 221.
71. *Bhāvanāyogāvatāra*: D3918. f. 70b.3–.4.
72. Mokṣākaragupta, *Do ha mdzod kyi dka' 'grel*, f. 283a.3–.7.
73. This and the following two sets of verse lines are attributed to Saraha in *'Phags pa mtshan yang dag par brjod pa'i mdor bzhad bdud rtsi'i thigs pa* by Nyi ma'i dpal ye shes: D1395, v. *Pha* f. 55b.1; P2111, v. 48 p. 29.4.2–3. However, the title *Do ha'i chings* does not appear in Nyi ma'i dpal ye shes's work.
74. D1395, v. *Pha* f. 53a.4; P2111, v. 48 p. 28.3.5.
75. D1395, v. *Pha* f. 55b.1; P2111, v. 48 p. 29.4.2–3.
76. D2301, v. *Zhi* f. 230a.3–4. It appears that Ral gri was working with a version of Kṛṣṇa's *Dohākoṣa* other than the canonical translation by Vairocanavajra.

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